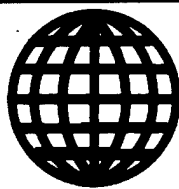
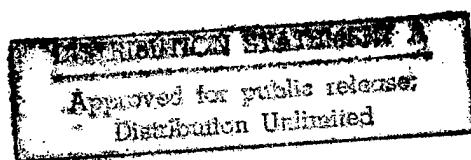


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3 OCTOBER 1990



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE**

# ***JPRS Report***



## **Soviet Union**

***Military Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Military Affairs

JPRS-UMA-90-022

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3 October 1990

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### Ogarkov on Implementing New Privileges for Veterans

90UM0545A Moscow VETERAN in Russian No 18,  
30 Apr-06 May 90 p 3

[Interview with N. V. Ogarkov, chairman of the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans, conducted by an unnamed VETERAN correspondent: "New Privileges for Veterans"]

[Text] The other day the USSR Council of Ministers resolution, "On measures associated with the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War", was published in the press. Steps to improve the provision of pensions to veterans and disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War were defined. Thus, from 1 October 1990 until the implementation of new USSR legislation on provision of civil pensions to war veterans, all forms of pensions granted to them will be increased by 25 percent of the minimum pension for old age, unrestricted by the maximum rates currently in effect (unless otherwise stipulated by this resolution).

Starting on 1 June 1990, veterans of the Great Patriotic War are granted the right of free passage on local service rail and water transports and on local bus routes. A number of other privileges are being implemented.

The Councils of Ministers in the union and autonomous republics and the ispolkoms of the local Soviets of People's Deputies have been ordered to implement, with the collaboration of the veterans' councils, additional measures to improve the living conditions of war veterans, the families of dead servicemen, and the workers on the home front.

Our correspondent met with N. V. Ogarkov, the chairman of the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans, and asked him to recount the tasks of the veterans' councils in view of the passage of the new resolution.

[Correspondent] What will the All-Union Veterans' organization have to do in connection with the USSR Council of Ministers resolution?

[Ogarkov] The paramount task of the veterans' councils and the vast body of active members in veterans' organizations is to bring the contents of the resolution to the attention of every Great Patriotic War veteran and to actively participate in interpretation of the privileges granted.

At the same time, it is very important for the Councils of Ministers in the union republics, the ispolkoms of the local Soviets of People's Deputies, and the labor collective soviets at enterprises and organizations implement additional measures to improve the living conditions of war and labor veterans so that the government's instructions do not remain "on paper" only. The veterans' councils play an indispensable role in this. They are called upon to show initiative and to submit proposals for the implementation of additional privileges, taking into account the local resources. Especially since the

veterans' councils have the necessary information at their disposal: since early February, the timely granting of privileges and benefits, which are provided for by legislation and previously adopted resolutions, to disabled veterans, war veterans, the widows and families of dead servicemen, and to workers on the home front has been monitored.

This work is being performed by the veterans' councils jointly with the social security and public health services, the trade union, women's, and Komsomol organizations, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Society, the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet Health and Charity Fund, and other public organizations. For example, in Rostov and Dnepropetrovsk oblasts, the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies are doing a good job of coordinating this work and the people's deputies have also actively joined in it. It makes us happy that in many places young people and children have displayed great energy in this noble work.

Of course, the success of the work depends upon a universal personal interest in helping those in need. It is necessary for the veterans to feel that the people remember to whom they are indebted for the victory over fascism.

We hope that the veterans will become the stimuli in exposing "sore spots", bringing them to the attention of the deputies and the public, and directing resources from local budgets and funds to the rendering of concrete and immediate assistance to elderly people who are in need of help.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, what demands particular attention right now?

[Ogarkov] A number of additional privileges for war veterans are defined in the resolution. The approach of the dates for implementing the separate standards of the new pension laws for disabled veterans and war veterans is of primary importance. This will undoubtedly improve their financial position. Although, it must be admitted that all problems still will not be completely solved.

We are particularly troubled by the fact that we are advancing very slowly along the path to improving the economic well-being of the workers on the home front. The youngest among them are already over sixty years-old now. A significant portion of these people receive small pensions and many of them can no longer work because of age and health conditions. The hopes for improving their living conditions are linked largely to increasing the independence of the local Soviets of People's Deputies. It is in their power to take specific steps to improve the position not only of war veterans, but also of the workers on the home front, whose contribution to victory simply must not be underestimated.

[Correspondent] And what are these steps?

[Ogarkov] First of all, taking advantage of all the local resources. In our country there are many instances for showing true respect for the services of those who bore the full brunt of very hard times for our homeland—the war and the reconstruction of the shattered national economy. For example, many labor collectives in Belorussia, as well as in other republics, make monthly donations to their veterans, pay for part of their public utilities and consumer services, improve their housing conditions, maintain their preferences in medical care and at sanatoriums and health resorts, and take upon themselves the care of the lonely aged... And if one approaches it with one's heart and understanding, there are many ways of sharing in the lives of elderly people!

For instance, it is really not all that difficult to allow a pensioner free admittance (or admittance for a reduced payment) to entertainment events at the culture palaces and movie theaters, as is done in many countries. And there are good examples of this in our country: the M. Gorkiy dramatic theater in Dnepropetrovsk puts on special free matinees for elderly people and the theater of opera and ballet invites the elderly to the dress rehearsals for new productions. These are drawn up as colorful poster invitations.

We are asking the Councils of Ministers in the union and autonomous republics, the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the labor collectives, and all citizens to show the sincere consideration and concern, warranted by the special significance of this anniversary, for the war veterans and the workers on the home front and for the widows and relatives of the frontline soldiers who were killed.

And there is another problem. Many war veterans wait a long time (sometimes up to five years and longer) for their turn receive a car. The All-Union Council of Veterans addressed a request to the government to designate special purpose automobiles from the retail stock for this category of pensioners. Of course, during this anniversary year, we would like to satisfy as many war veterans on the waiting list as possible.

As is evident from the resolution, 50 thousand cars have been set aside, including 32 thousand Zaporozhets automobiles—to be delivered free of charge to disabled war veterans. There is no doubt that the 18 thousand cars remaining for retail sale will not solve the problem. At the same time upon delivery, the Councils of Ministers in the union republics must without fail determine, conjointly with the republics' veterans' councils, the sequence for selling these cars so that they end up on direct assignment exclusively to Great Patriotic War veterans.

And once again we appeal to the Councils of Ministers in the union and autonomous republics and the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies: taking into account that 1990 is a special year, adopt measures for an additional prioritized allocation of automobiles for sale to war veterans and workers on the home front.

### Vice Adm A. Korniyenko on Application of Congress Decisions

90SV0006A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
22 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Baltic Fleet Political Directorate Chief Vice Admiral Anatoliy Ivanovich Korniyenko, a 28th Party Congress delegate and military soviet member, by Colonel O. Nikonov: "Life Places the Accents"]

[Text] Sufficient time has passed since the conclusion of the 28th Party Congress in order to talk about the first results of implementing the decisions adopted. Today we are talking with Baltic Fleet Political Directorate Chief Vice Admiral A. Korniyenko, a 28th Party Congress delegate and military soviet member.

[Nikonov] Anatoliy Ivanovich, what has already been done and what are the distinctive features of current political directorate work?

[Korniyenko] The Congress imparted a more precise flow and singlemindedness to the renewal in Fleet Party structures. It forced us to comprehend the entire acuteness and complexity of the state of society and the Party. Today it is impossible to adapt oneself to the drastically changing situation, we need to control it and do it so that the channel of movement is changed. And we are not waiting for orders. We have concentrated our efforts first and foremost on radicalization of Party relations. We have begun to help soviet of secretaries to gain momentum. For example, the political section headed by Captain 2nd Rank V. Andreyev has already actually afforded, as they say, most advantageous conditions to the soviet of secretaries. The independence of Party organizations has not only not "undermined combat readiness," it has had a significant impact on improving the results of combat duty. Discipline and crew integrity have increased.

I would say this: The Congress' materials are introducing substantial modifications to political and Party work in the Fleet. It really is important to not so much react to what is worrying and upsetting people but to urgently take steps. Leading Party members [pervichki] have been granted the broadest rights and powers within the framework of the new CPSU Charter. And this is the distinctive feature of the moment.

[Nikonov] As I understand it, perestroika processes have been accelerated from below, in leading Party organizations. But from above?

[Korniyenko] The processes are sooner mutual. A program to implement the Congress' decisions was adopted in the Fleet immediately after the Congress. There is a special group headed by Rear Admiral P. Kashauskas. Its task is to generalize constructive suggestions that come in from leading Party members and from all communists, to determine an optimum outline for building Party organizations, and to propose a methodology of cooperation for political organs, Party organizations, and all public institutes under new conditions.

I would particularly like to talk about our comprehensive personnel social protection program. It has, as they say, become intoxicated by the ideas that are contained in the resolutions of the 28th Congress. The military soviet has also taken work under its control.

[Nikonov] What are the distinctive features of this direction of work and what is the political directorate's position here?

[Korniyenko] As we all know, Baltic Fleet Forces are deployed on the territories of five republics. This creates particular complications as a result of the documents on sovereignty that they have adopted. This is reality. And difficulties that we have not encountered for decades have arisen in nearly every garrison. For example, the increase of retail prices for necessities in each region. Furthermore, the Armed Forces compensation mechanism has not been perfected. What can we do here? Thousands of people expect assistance from us. We also need to transform military sales to a different mode and redistribute funds. But so many questions have arisen as a result of the discriminatory resolution adopted by the Latvian parliament that ceases the force of USSR Council of Ministers orders on residence for certain categories of servicemen on the republic's territory....

For us, concern about people who are carrying out their military duties—is an urgent matter of paramount importance. We are acting through people's deputies, we are trying to persuade, and we are strengthening ties with soviets of workers collectives.

[Nikonov] Can we say that the Fleet has gone to the people?

[Korniyenko] Here we are extremely accessible. We are broadening our contacts with workers of the Yantar Plant in Kaliningrad and with the ship repair plant in Liyepaya, and there are similar examples in Riga and Klaypeda. We are cooperating well with CPSU Central Committee Member and ship repair plant Party Committee Secretary B. Batalin. Our servicemen continuously visit enterprises, schools, and PTU's [vocational technical schools].

Unfortunately, military patriotic work has subsided a bit in some places. Home-grown radicals have also disconcerted many activists of this movement in the country. And we, on the contrary, are intensifying military patriotic work. We are meeting with student youth. Not so long ago schoolboys went to sea in military ships and became acquainted with naval service.

[Nikonov] Severe assessments of the state of the Party were heard at the Congress. The impression is being formed that some Party organization leaders are now attempting to preserve their neutrality and are waiting for someone to defend the Party's prestige. And their own [prestige]. What is your point of view on what is occurring?

[Korniyenko] The situation is unusual indeed and we are unfamiliar with much of it. This has not occurred in the

history of the Party during the Soviet period. But the recovery is progressing. People are leaving the Party not only due to ideological considerations but to a great degree it is being cleansed of those to whom it cannot provide any advantages. The Congress also expressed its constructive point of view on this process and it is cementing our program of priority measures. Really even we in the Navy have that portion of workers who have only talked, proclaimed, asserted, authorized, or prohibited for many years and who have forgotten how to act using political methods. And right now work with people requires a flexible and agile mind. We need to go to the people and not call them, let us say, into our offices. We need to conduct a conversation and not order "Do as I say."

[Nikonov] But really you also, let us be frank, have called and continue to call people into your office not to ask them about their health or the weather....

[Korniyenko] And I also apply everything said above to myself. This is very difficult—to remake yourself. But if you understand that you need to change and you start to do something about it, the renewal process has begun. Unfortunately, even today it is not a rarity: The Party leader must travel with a retinue. If he talks, then it is most often with emphasized condescension....

[Nikonov] While speaking during the days of the Congress at the session of the "Party, Soviets, Socio-Political Organizations and Movements" section, you stressed: "Never before in the entire history of the existence of the native army and navy have military members themselves spoken so honestly, openly, and fundamentally about their problems." What is this—a form of defense from critical arrows and attacks on the stereotypes of public awareness?

[Korniyenko] It is sooner one of the manifestations of the perestroyka that is occurring in the Army. While directing society's attention to cases of the unsettled state of everyday life and this is the most painful issue today, we are talking not so much about the lack of apartments, goods, or laundries at garrisons as about the Army's dangerous moral discomfort. Society must see and understand our alarm about the quality of combat service and the capabilities of personnel to accomplish their duties.

#### Media Blamed for Instigating 'Antipatriotic' Fervor

90UM0596A Moscow *KOMMUNIST*  
VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 8, Apr 90  
(signed to press 12 Apr 90) pp 74-77

[Article by Valeriy Danilov, candidate of historical sciences: "Foam"; subtitles: "An Earring in the Ear and 'Informal' Thinking"; "Who Is Protecting Officers Against 'Boorishness and Totalitarian Arbitrary Rule,' and How?"; "Which Army Should be Federation?"]

[Text] "Times have now changed and it is not only the lazy who fear the military people. And because mere solid criticism of the army, without 'naming names,' is

now so safe, it now no longer captivates the reader. It is now time for a sophisticated search, with the fingers, like a sapper. We also need sometimes striking, convincing, contradictory (yeah! yeah!) and positive, and it is now terribly difficult to find it."

A strange opinion, is it not? It would be wrong to think that it belongs to some artless schoolboy whose appeal to malicious irony can be explained by his tender years. Alas! What we have here is the conclusion of a journalist who writes the "Oath" column in the newspaper MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS (10 December 1989).

Another reader might say "Yes, god is with him, with the tone of it. Ultimately, under the conditions of pluralism of opinion each person has the right to choose both the tone and style of conversation and letters, and those around him can draw their own conclusions about the author's degree of culture, his competence, and his interest in reaching the truth!" Of course, the world is large enough for this publication. But I cited it because it seems to me that it reflects the style of tendentious presentation of material about the Armed Forces typical of certain of the mass media. Here, say, we have MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. It sometimes publishes meaningful material about the hard daily life of a soldier. This is the kind of interview that one of the newspaper's correspondents had with Colonel General of Aviation V. Tsarkov (16 February 1989), the essay "Only Flight" by Ye. Vasilyukhina, P. Gusev, N. Yefimov, and V. Zharov (23 February 1989), and P. Gusev's essay about the border guards, in which he convincingly showed that "these are boys doing men's work" (28 May 1989), and others.

However, the newspaper continues to open its pages for material that can be included within the framework of pluralism only with great doubts. Here is an example. How would those working on MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS react to the actions of a fellow writer if he were just once in the editorial offices... in a swim suit. But this was exactly the kind of unethical behavior, but only for the army milieu, that the friend and adviser of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS is defending. In one issue last year this newspaper published a letter from someone on a course in a military school, one Vyacheslav K. The author was complaining that he had had had an ear pierced for an ear ring, but that his fellows on the course had not assessed his "informal" action from the positions of "pluralism." An associate of the newspaper wrote the following profound commentary to the letter of the "misunderstood" and "aggrieved" military informal: "In my view the author of the letter has chosen a very correct emphasis. And what he is defending is not an ear ring in the ear of a military person but the right of nonstatutory thinking" (23 May 1989). There you have it. Nothing more nor less. Let us say that the soldier is ordered into combat. But, you see, he has an informal attitude toward his orders. You read this kind of "perestroika piece" and you just burst to ask the author: "Does it not seem to you that through your appeals you are pushing our youth toward a system of views of

anarchic 'little brothers in sailors' shirts' from civil war times?" Oh! how you want to ask this!

In my opinion MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS is not at all "indifferent" to the military, and sometimes accuses them of all kinds of mortal sins. A classic example. Talking about the reasons why some enterprises produce substandard goods, as if patting some good old school-fellow on the shoulder, a certain Leon Rensar proclaims this: "I can assure you that the colonels, the generals, the marshals are all graduates of vocational and technical schools who first go through your department and then return to 'civilian life' so that through their labor they can bring joy to yesterday's commanders." (9 February 1989). There you have it. It turns out that the army is to blame for the production of substandard goods.

The categorical nature of statements by MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS about the Armed Forces is not always competent, to put it mildly. Take, for example, the piece entitled "Cutbacks in the Army: A Mistake?" (10 December 1989). What do the conclusions of the author, who claims to be a serious polemicist, amount to? To number "discoveries" of this type: the cutbacks being made in the army will lead only to one thing, namely, that retired servicemen will swell 'groups like Pamyat'; the army will be deprived of the most advanced and thinking part of the officer corps; the cutbacks in the "extensively inflated army" will deprive the country of any opportunity to reduce unemployment, "particularly in Central Asia"; and so on and so forth. "Given present trends, the cutbacks are "unsuitable" and "too clever," this same "prophet" asserts. "It is dreadful for me to think about who will remain in the professional army..."

In some place one can understand the desire for the garish, the sensational, "going to the extreme" as journalists say, in present materials to fight to increase the circulation of a youth newspaper. But what if we start "going to extremes" on a solid weekly sociopolitical and literary journal? Let me remind you how the OGONEK editorial office responded to the open letter from Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev to that journal's chief editor V.A. Korotich: "Can you not tell us which countries nurture plans to conquer the Soviet Union? Who would want to invade a country with such a poorly regulated infrastructure and with such an extremely resentful population that is ready at any time to start a partisan war even before the invasion of an enemy on USSR territory?" (OGONEK No 50, 1989). That was it exactly. It turns out that all the imperialists have become ardent and consistent pacifists! They entertain only the warmest warmest of friendly, and even sentimental feelings about the USSR. And here in the country we look at this and start a partisan war!... Whence this air of assurance on the part of OGONEK? For it is quite obvious that the thought is being foisted on millions of people that... the danger of war from the West has completely disappeared for the USSR—and obvious "extreme." And even the U.S. Vice President D. Quayle, according to THE WASHINGTON POST, stated this:

"The USSR remains enemy No 1 for the United States." Incidentally, note this: the United States is actually debating the question of possibly reducing previously planned military spending for the next 5 years, starting in 1991. But, not from 1990, as our country has done. Meanwhile, the United States has confirmed an official military budget of \$305.5 billion for 1991, which is \$6.7 billion more than in 1989.

But OGONEK goes further. Here we have issue No 9 (February) 1990, ambiguously announcing that "we have tried (and shall continue henceforth also to try) to provide protection against totalitarian arbitrary rule by the army for those servicemen who appeal to us for help, by making public the unlawful actions of the major military ranks standing above them" and so forth. We already know how the journal "protects" servicemen! The Armed Forces have no need of these kinds of "defenders."

We are concerned about the attempts to set the army in opposition to society and to foist on it the idea that it is "secret" and "conservative," that it really is "conservative" by nature. For example, the author of the article "Predraft Quadrille" (SOBESEDNIK No 1, 1989) states with total confidence that "the contrast between the democratization in society and the army procedures is growing." And how are we to understand this, you will forgive the expression, "theoretical generalization: "During the period of stagnation society as it were generously fed the military and held it in infinite esteem in the culture! Now it is time to meet the bill" (MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLET 23 May 1989).

It seems to me that whether we avoid polemic or engage in polemic with the authors of such statements would be the same as trying to empty the Moskva River with a teaspoon. It has obviously never occurred to them that given all the specific features of its own organization the army is an integral part of society, one flesh with the people. That hundreds of thousands of young men pass through it who are now on the leading edge of perestroika, who make up the country's intellectual pride and potential. That the Armed Forces are linked by thousands of threads to the labor collectives. That the army, finally, "goes into combat" whenever misfortune strikes our land, be it the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, the earthquake in Armenia, a railroad disaster in Bashkiria, or the attacks by extremists in the Transcaucasus. And here, the military people consider it blasphemous to demand "payment of promissory notes" not only for sweat and blood but also often for the most valuable thing a man possesses—his life.

MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLET has published a photograph with a commentary about military retraining (the "military types" as the newspaper contemptuously calls this form of military training). The picture shows a two-meter-high youth in a soldier's uniform who is looking down with a grin at a one-and-a-half-meter-high "soldier" who is servilely standing to attention in front of the giant. In short, a subject "a la good soldier

Schweik." Perhaps a snapshot like this is of some interest for a family photo album. But is it hardly necessary to publish it in a newspaper. In another photograph a soldier wearing eyeglasses (we have to make the suggestion that he is an "intellectual") servilely offers his back as a chair on which an officer sits preparing some document. What kind of feeling is elicited by this picture and its caption? Humor? Not at all. The subtext here is obvious: this is how the army makes use of the intelligence of future Newtons and Nobels...

Unfortunately, this kind of thing is also presented in other publications. Here we have SOBESEDNIK No 6, 1990. A picture shows a group of reservists. Somewhat overweight. The open greatcoats are emphasized. Their faces are distorted by doubtful grimaces. One has an automatic weapon in his hand... These are reservists mobilized because of the events in the Transcaucasus. The picture has a caption: "A shapeless mass, seedy, hungry eyes, understanding nothing..." SOBESEDNIK, it must be assumed, is solicitous and all-understanding: it states: "Is this really what the army is like?" On their arrival something more impressive had become clear—no one wanted them! No one gave them anything serious to do, they slept, set themselves up on the apron of an airfield, ate from mess tins smelling of lubricant oil; there is a military store that has been taken over by officers' wives (so that the sausage does not disappear), each one was issued with 120 rounds of ammunition, and they could nothing from anyone. A phantasmagoria, a bad dream." The author does go on to admit that he is "forcing things." And in his premonition he really is right. Yes, it is possible that in such a serious matter as a mobilization some wheels might just spin uselessly. But let us talk seriously, calmly, without emotion. The young men were not visiting their mothers-in-law to eat blintzes. And for some of the time they suffered certain inconveniences. Incidentally, the mess tins. Obviously the tender-hearted journalist had managed to avoid the draft and so did not know that a soldier not only eats from his mess tins but also has to carry them with him. And no slider anywhere in the world thinks that this is beneath his dignity. Moreover, it is common knowledge that the first precept of the soldier is "don't be separated from your mess tins!" Well, it is virtually impossible to use a mess tin if there is no cauldron.

Attention is also drawn to the fact that under the flag of pluralism and criticism some press organs are in fact casting doubt on the moral ideals of the Soviet war: patriotism, loyalty to the oath, honor. Is it necessary to prove that this kind of activity inflicts irreparable harm on society's spiritual potential? It is difficult for me to understand the moral goals being pursued by this same journal OGONEK when it publishes materials about the "weariness" of "officers' boorishness" (No 33, 1988), about service in the army as "a waste of time," and also about the use of young men "who have studied in universities and institutes" to dig out cellars and make repairs on personal quarters, and as orderlies for their commanding officers (No 5, 1989). With the best will in

the world the reader will be unable to see those sociopolitical and literary ideals to which this press organ lays claim.

I often think why it is that some editorial collectives resort to such bold, as it probably seems them, criticism, which superficially seems nothing more than some kind of re-examination but is an obvious falsehood. Is it out of thoughtlessness, striving for sensation or the hot fact? Is it out of a sincere but incompetent desire to "bring order" to the army? Is it for the purpose of deliberately discrediting the military and the Armed Forces? I think that with careful examination we shall also find that all of these are mere "foaming agents." For they are far from harmless. And those attending the all-army officers' conference that took place in December 1989 rightly noted that "among young people pacifist sentiments are being intensified. The sacred ideas of military duty, honor, dignity, loyalty to the oath, combat brotherhood, and combat comradeship are being devalued.

As I write these words I involuntarily think: is there not some logical connection between tendentious coverage in the media of information about the military and the Armed Forces, between the so-called "pluralism in a one-way street" and the move to practical deeds by shameless nationalists, hooligan extremists, and armed marauders against the army in a number of regions in the country? Why is this thought so alarming? Here just some of the facts.

"How you young men act when they decide that service in the Armed Forces is at variance with religious, pacifist or political views and convictions?" (From a leaflet written in Latvian and circulated in Riga in October 1989, quoted by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 16 November 1989).

"Down with the Red Kremlin!" "The USSR is a Prison for the Peoples!" "Give the Communist Party a Slap in the Face!" "Russians Are Occupiers!" "Down with the Fascist Army!" "Russians, Get Out of Our House!" "Withdraw the Occupation Troops from Georgia!" (slogans during the events in April 1989 in Tbilisi).

"How often today we hear the threats and insults! We are 'fascists' and 'occupiers' and 'butchers.' The most insulting thing is that respectable adults with whom we have lived for 5 years shouted abuse and spat in our faces" (Colonel V. Vlasenko, Baku city, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 January 1990).

"We saw with our own eyes two KamAZ vehicles loaded with people in tropical-issue uniforms going into the headquarters of the Narimanov section of the People's Front of Armenia... The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs estimates that the population has about 30,000 weapons, of which no more than 120 have been used, while somewhat more than 80 have been taken and destroyed." (A. Kruzhilin, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 7 February 1990).

"The list of dead is not yet complete (in Baku—author's note). As at 30 January the official figure had reached 142. They include 28 servicemen. These figures will probably grow because of the number of seriously wounded." (PRAVDA 2 February 1990).

It seems to me that the reports cited are not only the result of a profound crisis in the country's life. The pieces being published by some of the mass media, based on deformations of pluralism and glasnost, are also concerned. I favor pluralism of opinion, but the kind that strengthens not only perestroika but also the army. And that does not drive a wedge between the people and the army. This is why, like others of my compatriots, I was pleased to learn that on 15 February at the initiative of members of the USSR Union of Writers who had attended military gathering on the "Vystrel" courses, an Officers' Assembly of Writers was established. This is an all-union public organization that has set itself the goal of preserving the authority of the Soviet Army.

The role of defender of the homeland is an honorable one in any country. It is only under a growing monopoly of the mass media by antipatriotic forces that the people can forget the simple truth that a people reluctant to feed its own army will end up feeding a foreign army.

The writers elected a council for the Officers' Assembly. The chairman of the new public organization is Aleksandr Prokhanov. I think that he will defend the interests of the army and the honor of the defenders of the motherland in a different way from OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS or SOBESEDNIK...

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#### Societal Assistance for Veterans Urged

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(Signed to press 12 Apr 90) pp 58-64

[Article by Lt Col Igor Petrovich Altunin "They Appear On The Lists: Notes On a Theme That Is Not Quite New"]

[Text] About the author: Igor Petrovich Altunin. He graduated from Lvov Higher Military-Political School Department of Journalism in 1976 and Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin Editorial Department (by correspondence) in 1989. He worked as a correspondent-organizer large circulation group and military district newspapers, as a department head of MVO [Moscow Military District] KRASNYY VOIN Newspaper, and as Deputy Editor of the Military Education Department of ZNAMENOSETS Magazine. He is currently a *KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL* magazine correspondent. He is a member of the USSR Union of Journalists.

"It is easy to hide hatred, difficult to hide love, and hardest of all to hide indifference." L. Borne

Life moves swiftly but, for all its fleeting qualities, moral obligations are vanities that must not be forgotten.

How many fine resolutions have emerged that are directed at improving living and working conditions and everyday lives of veterans of war and labor and the Armed Forces, how many correct decisions have been made about benefits for them, and how many touching words of gratitude have been articulated about them! But let us ask ourselves the question, have these decisions and resolutions always been carried out, are they being unfailingly carried out and are they regarded as a top priority while resolving mundane problems? Do practical support and assistance always follow beautiful and emotional words? Alas.... Real gratitude is demonstrated through actions [not words].

It appears that we have no equals in the world in the slogan department. It is just sad that many slogans and appeals, whether born as bureaucratic-formalistic passion or as sincere impulses, are often akin to the hissing sound steam makes as it thoughtlessly and smugly escapes.

The following is written in a CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Founding Conference of the All-Union Organization of Veterans of War and Labor that was founded nearly three and a half years ago: "Veterans enjoy nationwide concern in our country. Concern about the older generation is the high moral duty of Soviet society and the obligation of every workers collective and State and social organization." The latter thesis is indisputable. As for the former.... If it were true, neither the All-Union Council of Veterans of War and Labor and its subdepartmental organizations, nor central or local newspapers or magazines, nor Party and government organs of all levels would literally be flooded with letters and appeals from Great Patriotic War veterans and disabled veterans, Army and Navy veterans, and the families of the deceased whose basic sense is resentment and complaints. Complaints about what? They are about the unsettled state of everyday life, poor medical care, commercial facilities, heartless bureaucrats and many, many other things.

It is right to think, Just what is happening to us? Why are we becoming so hardhearted? Why, while pretending to be civilized and while ardently advocating kindness and harmonious relations among people of all mankind (no less!), do we permit ourselves to be ignoble and negligent in ordinary everyday life and out of the public eye, even that which has been considered sacred in all ages, relations with people who are much older than us? Even when not much is required: To be courteous and considerate which costs us almost nothing. We are not talking about more than that...

After all, we write, advocate, and utter high sounding words. Words about devotion to the ideals of the older generations. And there he is, before you, a representative of these generations and he needs a kind word and

perhaps moral support and assistance. It is really turning out like the poet said, "It is easy to love mankind, but [try to] love just one man."

"It turned out that no matter what registration they were entered onto or what list they appeared on," said Retired Major General of Aviation and Hero of the Soviet Union S.M. Kramarenko, head of the All-Union Soviet of Veterans of War and Labor Membership [Commission]. "either at Ispolkoms of Soviets of People's Deputies, at social and medical service organs, at Voenkomats [Military Commissariats] where the appropriate assistance committees were established, at unit and garrison political departments near places of residence, or at the territorial Party organization. However, this registration is often formal in nature and does not spare these dear people from a feeling of loneliness and estrangement while "generously" presenting them the opportunity at every occasion to "beat" themselves against the padded wall of everyday disorders and problems."

Yes, they appear on the lists. But there is no less indifference. And it is diverse. Here are just a few examples.

One day a postcard arrived at an address in a Moscow suburb. It stated that "Pavel Vasilyevich Fedorov as a Great Patriotic War veteran is registered for the "holiday" service at store number 7, etc., etc." But the trouble is that Pavel Vasilyevich died five years ago. This was reported to the Gorispolkom and the postcard was returned. And then what? A little over two months later, a new postcard arrived on Victory Day. The text and signature on it were the same as before but another store was designated that was located nearer. (Were they humoring him?!)

As they say, commentary is superfluous. I. Kovtun, a war veteran and Group I disabled person, resides in Sterlitamak in Bashkir ASSR. His legs became paralyzed eight years ago. He requested that the social services organs help him to acquire a wheelchair. They sent it after three (!) years, all bent up; the wheels did not even turn. They manufacture these sorry devices in Kuybyshev.

Then I. Kovtun requested that he be given a Zaporozhets automobile with manual steering. After three years they told him: "Please, but at full price." They explained, "Although it is true that you are a war veteran, you became disabled (as a result of a general illness) in peacetime." The former scout, who had been in hundreds of difficult fixes, who had repeatedly spent days and nights in the ice and snow, asks a legitimate question, "But was the war not responsible for my failing health?"

And incidentally, they gave I. Kovtun a new wheelchair. But only four (!) years later. But happiness was once again overshadowed. True, this time the wheels turned. However, it should have been a hand operated drive mechanism but they delivered it with a chain drive for someone with healthy legs. And this, I remind you, was

for an elderly man with both legs paralyzed! Furthermore, the carrying capacity of the wheelchair is 90 kilos and I. Kovtun weighs 100. Well, is this not all a violation of his dignity? What more need be said to complete the assessment of this situation? Were we to select them they would be the very harshest words.

Now a story from Leningrad. Serviceman G. Strikun, having served 33 years in the Armed Forces, is subject to release into the reserves due to his age. He has not been provided with housing for the last three years. And now the military district command staff is offering him an apartment whose size is within the limits of general standards (and takes into account the additional ten square meters in accordance with the Regulation on Servicemen's Benefits). It has, however, been more than eight months and Lengorispolkom has not issued the order and has not recognized the rights stated above. Characteristically, the Leningrad public prosecutor provided the following conclusion in this regard: "Provision of the apartment and its size are not at variance with the law." The military district military prosecutor confirmed this, "There were no violations of the law's requirements during allocation of the apartment." Incidentally, the city prosecutor (twice) and the RFSFR Prosecutor demanded that this problem be resolved as quickly as possible. And what then? Nothing. Things are not moving. It seems that some people can quietly disregard the letter of the law and can violate a Soviet citizen's housing rights without bearing any responsibility at all for it.

"The majority of the problems they write about and address to us," says L.M. Senkevich, head of the Department of Letters and Reception of the All Union Council of Veterans of War and Labor, "can and should be resolved locally. However, this frequently does not occur; furthermore, many people simply do not believe in the ability of the local organs to defend their interests (alas, there are grounds for this). So they go to Moscow, as if to the highest level of authority, with all of their hopes."

"Most of the complaints and claims," continued A.P. Negramotnov, deputy chief of the Organizational Department, "are associated with the lack of social protection for veterans, former servicemen and their families. And what is especially pitiful among those whose rights have been infringed are those who live on military posts near garrisons. They served and sacrificed their strength and health for the cause; they were needed; they retired or were released to the reserve and they became a burden, "has been."

Vasiliy Fokovich Ukrainets is a retired warrant officer. He served in the Army for 28 years. Now he is on a pension. His family consists of four people. He lives on a military post in a one-room apartment with 16 square meters of usable space (the corridor is .8 square meters). In short, in more than crowded conditions. The situation in the Ukraine is very complicated. At one time, he gave up his preferential right to move farther out and now....

City authorities openly acknowledge their impotence since he lives on the garrison's grounds. The garrison leadership found a beautiful excuse, "Why," they say without beating around the bush, "did you not 'fight for' an apartment when you were in the service? Now," they say, "you are a civilian and 'not ours'."

Of course this is sad but other standing rules might actually become an insurmountable obstacle to the resolution of the most obvious and even glaring problems. But this must cause a first-rate protest since this is a drastically changed attitude toward a person who has suddenly become "not ours." If only there was an attempt to fight for him or to look for alternatives or a way out of the situation! Just make an attempt even if it is in vain.... No.

Who is that "stranger"? During his service career, V. Ukrainets was twice entered into the Unit Honor Roll. He had 60 commendations and he was rated excellent in military and political training for 15 years. He was elected deputy Party organization secretary, he was chairman of the Warrant Officers Comrades Court of Honor for eight years, and he was designated assistant group leader for political training for ten years in a row.

Let us mention another warrant officer here, Vladimir Nikolayevich Kiula, a front line soldier who also served in one unit for more than 20 years. He was not just an excellent specialist, but a man with the troubled heart of a communist who did not spare time, effort, or his abilities to educate people. His subunit always numbered among the best and did not know "dedovshchina" [hazing of new conscripts]. Vladimir Nikolayevich was also concerned about the spiritual side of his subordinates. For example, having gone on leave once, he brought back several books and used them to lay the foundation of a soldier's library. Following his example, everyone started to bring books back from leave and they were placed on the shelves with the appropriate inscription and became common property.

The time came for the veteran to retire. But he could not just sit at home. He dropped in at the unit to see how things were going. And the commander had these words for him, "Vladimir Nikolayevich, I have just the job for you..." This is the way it was. Even today Kiula finds an application for his "golden" hands and capabilities at the unit; he is once again a socialist emulation winner and a member of the Party bureau. Not long ago, as a veteran, he received an invitation to purchase an automobile.

Alas, we more often become acquainted with different situations.

Reserve Lt Col G.E. Alekseyev: "Whether we like it or not, every man, and an Armed Forces veteran too, assesses his position in society by his relationship with the latter. Without aspiring to any special privileges or conditions for us, military people, I must direct attention to the fact that, having gone into the reserves or retirement, many people find themselves in the position of people who are just starting life, all the more so if the

veteran decided to leave the unit or the garrison... Who stands there today to defend our interests? We are in the role of young specialists at enterprises and institutes; a little lower salary, a voucher to the sanatorium, a plot of land, a car—priority to our veterans... But problems with housing or with the installation of a telephone? I am a Reserve Lieutenant Colonel and have been awarded the Order for Service to the Homeland in the Armed Forces of the USSR, 3rd Class. I was discharged in 1985 and only in 1987, at the age of 55, did I receive the right, after registration (until then I lived at the garrison), to get on the list (just to get on the list!—Author) for installation of a telephone. I appealed to the chief of the GTS [City Telephone Exchange], could he not accelerate the solution to this technical operation? In reply I heard, "On the other hand, you have received a lot."

With such an approach, some veterans may not need a telephone after all...

So, what do you get for 33 years of service, 29 of which were on combat alert, do they mean anything?

We must share the anxiety and bewilderment of Comrade G. Alekseyev or any serviceman who, due either to a planned [departure] or in connection with Armed Forces reductions, has found himself beyond the threshold of the difficult but customary military life. And those who have heard the abusive maxims, not unlike those set forth above, by various types of dubious experts on Army reality. (Oh, how often of late have the rebukes and sighs been heard orally and in the press with regard to the nearly heavenly existence of military people, "who rake money in by the shovelful," who live at government expense, and so on and so forth! True, the "experts" themselves, as a rule, are purely civilians and they apparently intuitively suspect what the "heaven" is like and therefore you will certainly not entice them there with either mythical or real privileges. They run from the "burdens and hardships" of which they love to speak with such irony like the devil runs from incense.

Generally, when encountering some situation, we get the impression that, in many cases, the principle that guides them is: Support and aid to veterans is a matter for the veterans' own hands."

The garrison in which Officer S. Makarov serves is an isolated military post. Several very old people, front-line soldiers, and Armed Forces veterans live here who require care and attention to a greater or lesser degree, including at this same unit. Obviously it would not be true to say that the unit is not at all aware of them. It is another matter that, as a rule, it takes on an official and formal nature. They are congratulated on holidays and invited to garrison-wide festive activities; recently, after an exhaustive struggle and arguments, representatives of the local Soviet of Veterans of War and Labor (Retired Colonel N. Bolkunov is the chairman), were included on the housing commission and also on the social commission for monitoring post exchange enterprise operations,

etc. And nevertheless these examples can mislead only a bystander or uninitiated person.

For how sad it is to ascertain that at the present time something like a confrontation has developed between the garrison leadership and the veterans living on the post. It sounds preposterous but it is as if both are on opposite sides of the barricade. Hence the mutual distrust, suspicion, and attacks. Confrontation.

Why did this develop?

The veterans have accumulated many resentments. And we need to admit that they are well-grounded in many cases.

I will cite several examples.

To begin with, a few lines from a letter. "The garrison command announces that there is no reason for us to remain on the post after we are discharged, retired, or enter the reserves, and we need to go wherever we like. Of course," they say, "no one is driving you out, but it is true that you have no rights here. You are civilians now. And more precisely, you have lost your ties to the Ministry of Defense. You have another status now.

"The CPSU Gorsovet Ispolkom answers all of our problem questions by saying that we live at an isolated Ministry of Defense post and therefore they can do nothing for us. They are overwhelmed by their own concerns. But, the question arises, who are we? Are we strangers among our own? It would be funny if it was not sad and painful.

"As a result we have become a no man's [category]."

Yes, it really is sad and painful. And especially because veterans write these lines...

What has happened? Having found themselves in a very specific 'garrison' situation, these dear people found themselves in a situation where it is easier to manifest unconcern, formality, and unfairness toward them. They found only officials who have not yet renounced bureaucratic work methods, who love and know how to shift responsibility for any matter from one to the other, and who skillfully manipulate the pile of every sort of instruction, rule, or regulation.

There were injustices. So, in due course, the post's veterans rights were violated during the organization and conduct of elections of people's deputies to the local Soviet and in accounting for and realizing the voters mandate. And there were quite a few discrepancies noted in the assignment of housing.

The attempt "to leave out in the cold" "those not ours" and "the has beens" during the sale of some products and goods literally agitated and exasperated the post population. But S. Makarov cited a one-and-a-half year old Deputy USSR Minister of Defense—Armed Forces of the USSR Chief of Rear Services directive, which states in particular: "Establish strict control over the sale

of goods that are in heightened demand and prohibit the sale of those goods on the open market that are in short supply for military servicemen, workers and employees of the Army and Navy and members of their families." The approved order was motivated by the fact that there is not one word said about war veterans or disabled veterans or families of those who died in the list referred to. Well, is this not a casuistic approach?

Something similar occurred when the leadership objected to including representatives of the Veteran's Council on the social commission for monitoring post exchange enterprise operations. They said there also is not a word mentioned in the appropriate regulation (eight years old) about this possibility (incidentally, the All-Union [Veterans] Soviet was formed only three and a half years ago). But since there is no official authorization, that means it is prohibited. Is that not a stagnant principle? Let us compare this with what is elementary and logical and is already being heard: That which is not prohibited is authorized.

But let us return to our story. Yes, it turned out a couple of lines were not included in the document. But really there are no directives or instructions that are adequate to conduct us past all of life's conflicts. Someone said: Sometimes it is necessary to step away from the rules in order to keep from making a mistake. It is awkward to remind Comrade S. Makarov that there are things that are obvious and clear as day and that there are concepts such as duty and elementary humanity.

What of the veterans? They reformed their ranks and set out in search of another document. They rummaged around for a while and found it. A USSR Soviet of Ministries and VTsSPS [All-Union Central Trade-Union Council] Resolution and also a USSR Ministry of Defense Order that is also a year and a half old. They read the following lines from the latter: "...Improve sales and everyday services support for residents at restricted and isolated military posts, for disabled veterans of war and labor, war veterans, and for the families of those who died during wars, organize the sale of clothing and footwear through military post exchanges for disabled veterans and pensioners, and also receive orders for food commodities and conduct increased services at home for people living alone, the incapacitated, and citizens of advanced years."

And the "enemy" faltered. The order that was issued earlier was recognized as erroneous and was corrected. But how much strength and nerves of already not very healthy people was needed to do this!

And the telephone problem? It is clear that a telephone is an absolute necessity for elderly people. However, up to this point they have not succeeded in providing all of them with what they need most. The capabilities of the post's ATS [Automatic Telephone System] are very limited. But after complaints were received and properly verified, the branch of service command staff provided a

recommendation to look into the possibility of redistributing a number of telephones to satisfy requests of war veterans and disabled veterans. The recommendation had the highest endorsement. And what happened? Garrison leaders reacted very peculiarly to it. They took and gave two to three telephones to some after having simultaneously taken them away from others. For example, from War Veterans Retired Lieutenant Colonels M. Nametkin and M. Lupinos... Furthermore, they also made the assertion that the local "fighter for the truth" N. Bolkunov was guilty for what happened. They said: "This is what he achieved and you can thank him for it."

Did Honored Military Pilot Mikhail Pavlovich Lupinos, veteran of a unit that fought near Stalingrad and in Manchuria, ever think that they would treat him this way in his native garrison?

He could not believe it for a long time; he even became flustered. He could only repeat, "I had a telephone for 29 years, 29... Why?"

It seems that commentary is also superfluous here. However I will add that one CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers resolution on privileges determined that Great Patriotic War veterans have the right to priority use of all types of communications services and priority installation of telephones in their apartments. Of course, we all understand that you cannot ignore actual capabilities but we must be guided by approved regulations.

In short, these and a number of other facts did not at all promote improvement of the general atmosphere at the military post. Obviously, we need to note for the sake of justice that veterans who were overwhelmed by resentment at particularly emotional, heated moments were not always right. There were groundless claims and even accusations. True, this came about simply due to a lack of simple and trusting dialogue and the absence of glasnost between the conflicting sides. At times rumors sprung up and fantasies propagated because of this. A characteristic example is the "trade" story when a criminal case was brought as a result of abuses discovered with regard to Post Exchange Director V. Yefimova-Komarova and several of her assistants. But days passed somehow inconspicuously and quietly...the case was closed. And there was no information at all. It was as if this same Yefimova-Komarova (a Party member, by the way) evaporated and she disappeared from the post. So here the inhabitants pose a valid question, "Is this all a dream?" "Who is covering up for whom?" And when they did not receive an answer, they themselves guessed who it was. If slander occurred, we need to restore people's good names and punish those guilty of slander.

It is not surprising that profound conflicts arise in a situation of universal mistrust and it seems as if people were being wounded by trifles for personal and quite permissible reasons.

They designed a sports obstacle course. It turned out to be a long one and the veteran's kitchen garden got caught up in it. They did not begin to examine other variations or even a compromise (for example, to make good-faith arrangements with the owner to try to find him another acceptable place and to help him settle in there). They thought that the details would somehow take care of themselves. But they did not. I will not go into detail, I will just say: The unit "won" this inconceivable confrontation.

Sr Lt Yu. Kovbasyuk, deputy political department chief for Komsomol affairs, having met a pensioner who had served at the front at the library, invited him to talk with other soldiers. He invited him, he himself admitted afterwards, without much ado and as if in passing, well, as if inviting him to smoke a cigarette. The veteran thought about it and became agitated. It was obvious that this was a serious matter for him and he reckoned: Could he? But the officer who, by the way, is himself an energetic and sensible person, did not become insistent. And he quickly came to an agreement with the other man. Today he is sincerely sorry since he clearly felt at the time, what is the difference who, if only it is a veteran. "It was no good and did not turn out well," Kovbasyuk concluded. "Such carelessness naturally offended the old man."

But we all know that some spiritual wounds are more difficult to heal than physical ones.

We did not manage to meet with Comrade S. Makarov, he was out of town. Political Worker Lt Col V. Pivovarov said, "You continually investigate all of these conflicts and it seems there will be no end to them and it is fruitless to try to find out whose side was the first to cast an unjust or insulting word in anger. And suddenly you stop and become ashamed, "Whom are we fighting with, how did this happen?"

"Someone, Viktor Aleksandrovich, needs to take decisive steps to improve mutual understanding and is it possible for the old men?"

"Yes, of course we must."

"A final question then: Anyway, whose veterans are these? Not ours, nobody's?"

Having thought for a second, the officer concluded, "Ours. And we need to defend their interests."

I want to believe that it will be so. I only allow myself to recall the thought spoken by one of the ancients, "Justice reigns when everyone interprets another's insult as his own."

I almost deliberately did not touch upon so-called positive examples. Examples of a caring and considerate attitude toward veterans which comprises one of the noblest traditions still established in the Russian Army and examples of the high spirituality of this attitude that bears an enormous educational and moral charge. There

are many such examples. However they, like some of the experience of this work, merit a separate and more thorough description.

Today I wanted to pay attention to the negative cases which, alas, are not isolated manifestations. And they are also a mirror of our lives into which we are obliged to totally mercilessly and self-critically gaze.

I can say without exaggeration that the Army is life for a veteran of war and the Armed Forces. Having taken off shoulder boards and put on civilian clothing, he still remains a man of special tempering and education—a military man until the end of his days. He is a highly patriotic, not indifferent, and practical man. And no matter where he lived, no matter where he has worked—his own regiment, the nearest garrison, and the Voenkomat remain a second home to him. Do not tear out the lifeline of informal human intercourse between veterans and those who are presently defending the homeland. And I support the demands of many veterans, to take the wording out of official document usage with regard to them, "...they have lost contact with the Ministry of Defense." You see, it actually signifies that the main military department denies responsibility for their fate.

Perhaps USSR People's Deputies—Armed Forces representatives will have a word to say in this regard?

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### **Servicemen's Social, Legal Constitutional Rights Discussed**

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[Roundtable Report published under the heading "Theory and Practice," prepared by Colonels N. Belyakov and G. Petrenko and Lieutenant-Colonel S. Lavrentyev, special correspondents of *KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL*: "Who Protects the Man in Uniform and How?"]

[Text] The subject of this roundtable has been suggested by life and the reader mail. The questions of the social and legal protection for the workers and the men of the Army and Navy at present have acquired particular importance and have been put in the category of priority ones. For this reason, the roundtable discussion assumed a sharp polemical form with clashes of different viewpoints and proposals.

Participating in it were: Colonel of Justice Nikolay Vladimirovich Artamonov, senior instructor at the Red Banner Military Institute and doctor of legal sciences; Major-General Nikolay Maksimovich Bay, deputy chief of the Central Financial Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense; Major Aleksandr Anatolyevich Batov, deputy regimental commander for political affairs; Major-General Viktor Aleksandrovich Bulgakov, deputy

director chief of the Main Cadres Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense; Colonel of Justice Igor Mikhaylovich Bashkevich, senior legal consultant at the legal department of the Administrative Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense; Major of Justice Aleksandr Viktorovich Zarubin, assistant garrison military procurator; Private Mikhail Ivanovich Ivanov, student at the military cooks school; Colonel of Justice Stanislav Ivanovich Ilyushin, deputy chief of the Directorate of Military Tribunals; Senior Sergeant Artur Vasilyevich Karpov, weapons commander; Colonel of Justice (Ret) Aleksandr Semenovich Koblikov, doctor of legal sciences and professor at the Red Banner Military Institute; Captain Konstantin Ivanovich Kuznetsov, commander of a construction company; Colonel of Justice (Ret) Viktor Vasilyevich Luneyev, leading science associate at the Institute of State and Law, doctor of legal sciences and professor; Colonel of Justice Mikhail Grigoryevich Matakina, chief of the Legal Service of the USSR Ministry of Defense; Viktor Mikhaylovich Minin, deputy chairman of the Committee for Youth Affairs of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Colonel of Justice Viktor Ivanovich Nalivayko, chief of the Legal Service of the Moscow Military District; Senior Warrant Officer Ivan Petrovich Orekhov, commander of a training platoon; Sergeant Oleg Bogdanovich Prisyazhnyuk, student at the Red Banner Military Institute; Major of Justice Anatoliy Vasilyevich Pchelintsev, senior instructor at the same institute and candidate of legal sciences; Colonel of Justice Vyacheslav Pavlovich Seregin, chief of the Chair of Military Law at the Military Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin and candidate of legal sciences; Colonel Viktor Vasilyevich Slobodskoy, lecturer at the Political Directorate of the Ground Forces; Colonel of Justice Leonid Alekseyevich Smertin, department chief of the Chief Military Procuracy; Major-General Anatoliy Timofeyevich Ukolov, deputy chairman of the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court; Major Vladimir Semenovich Shilkin, senior instructor of the Political Department of the Construction Directorate at the Moscow Military District; Major Valeriy Anatolyevich Yakimov, senior instructor for propaganda and agitation of a field formation political department; Captain Nikolay Ivanovich Yaremko, deputy battalion commander for political affairs.

### Is a Special Law Required?

[Leader] In our discussion today, we should, I assume, proceed primarily from the notion that we are building a state under the law. In this regard, moving to the forefront with complete validity are the questions related to the social and legal status of Soviet citizens, including servicemen. It is no secret that these are "painful" questions. And it must be admitted that the sociolegal status and situation of servicemen, unfortunately, still have not been given a clear definition. As a result, major difficulties arise in solving very important questions related to the activities of our servicemen. This is particularly apparent now....

[V. Seregin] In actuality, at present there should be a discussion not only of the problem of the sociolegal status of the servicemen but also their situation in society and the Armed Forces. If one speaks about status, this very concept is a legal one including rights, freedoms and obligations reinforced by the Constitution. But the situation of servicemen in real life is different. Here, in my view, is to be found the main contradiction over which our exchange of opinions should be concentrated.

[A. Koblikov] And we must clearly begin with the question of how to make military service prestigious and so that young people choose an officer's profession out of their own conviction. At present, this is a very important economic, sociopolitical and legal question. In my view, it is possible to turn military service precisely into an honorable obligation only by having substantially changed the status of the servicemen. And this, as is known, was shaped in the 1930s. Since then it has run approximately along the same lines.

[N. Artamonov] I agree and the people want to see their Armed Forces in a different manner, as renewed, as better trained professionally and materially provided for. But then problems arise when actual practices run contrary to the ossified nature of many provisions in the USSR Constitution and the current legislation. A vivid manifestation of this, in my view, is precisely the insufficient social and legal protection for the servicemen. The well-known article of the Law on Universal Military Service, for example, declares that servicemen are fully equal citizens of the nation. But the second part immediately "sobers one up" with a cold shower, for it contains the substantial stipulation related to the particular features of military service.

[Leader] What do you have in mind?

[N. Artamonov] The fact that the general civilian status of the servicemen is significantly restricted. Some of the servicemen say: I am a citizen with full rights and I can go where I want, attend a meeting or join an informal association.... But is this according to the law? No. For from the law it emerges that if this is incompatible with the interests of military service, you cannot do it! This must be more clearly stated. Furthermore, we are fond of "showing off" our rights. At the same time, soldiers and sergeants in regular service are living in barracks. For now that may be the only way. Where else could they live? But is this full rights? Of course not. Or another question again concerning the pseudo-full rights. Can an officer really retire from the army at his own request or move voluntarily from the area where he serves to another? No. And such examples could be continued.

[Leader] Consequently, the restricting of the rights of servicemen is justified?

[N. Artamonov] To a certain degree, yes. But the restrictions for them should be clearly set down in a legislative order. We feel that one must speak definitely, for example, about the constitutional right of a serviceman to work. Certainly an officer is not completely free even

in the choice of a profession. And let alone in realizing his right to work. For instance, a citizen is voluntarily enrolled in a military school but then later, having become an officer, he cannot leave service at his own request upon achieving the legally established maximum age.

Or take the right to rest. Servicemen in this regard have virtually no complete guarantees. The regulations, for example, do not stipulate that if a serviceman is on daily detail, then he has the right to appropriate rest. Nowhere is it stated that a commander is responsible for providing a day off to the officers, warrant officers and reenlisted personnel. Not on a Sunday or any other day. And this also should be stipulated in the legislation.

[Leader] Presently, other problems are knocking on our doors related to the sociolegal status. For instance, can a serviceman participate in individual labor activity?

[N. Artamonov] A regular directive to the officers has simply banned individual labor activity. In my opinion, this is an elementary violation of social justice. Incidentally, there is the same situation with the cooperatives. But how do they want to resolve the given problem? Again by bans. But possibly compromises would be allowed here in the interests of the individual and society?

I cannot help but bring up the political rights of the serviceman. Certainly these rights should be granted without exceptions. Although recent practice and the events occurring in the nation force one to say that here too thought must be given to establishing certain reasonable limitations in the aims of ensuring the independence of the Armed Forces from the personal attitude of the servicemen toward the development of political processes, from their party affiliation (particularly under the conditions of a possible multiparty system) and so forth.

[Leader] In this context let us take up the question of the freedom of conscience. Many young people at present, as is known, refuse to serve out of religious conviction....

[N. Artamonov] Recently our chair investigated a curious case. The essence briefly was as follows. Lt (Res) B. was deprived of a military rank because he was a believer. Initially they wanted to call up B. but when his religious convictions became known, they did not. However, this was not enough for someone. So upon the request of the local military commissariat, another person was deprived of a military rank. And the military procuracy refused to protest the given, clearly illegal decision. But on what grounds? Certainly the Law on Universal Military Service states that any citizen has not only the right but also the duty to serve, regardless of his religion.

[S. Ilyushin] We have set out for a restructuring of not only the socioeconomic and legal structure but also the political system, so let us bring back its Leninist appearance. This applies also to the Army as a part of the given

system. For this reason, I feel, at present it would be wise to recall that on 4 January 1919, in the very difficult days for the nation, Vladimir Ilich signed a decree which provided upon a court ruling for the replacing of military service by another civilian duty for persons who because of their religious convictions could not participate in military service. Furthermore, in March of last year the United Nations commission on human rights adopted a resolution which contained a recommendation for the UN member nations to also introduce alternative civilian service for such individuals. We are now discussing this. The concept of service outside the military, for example, is being introduced into the existing draft law.

[N. Artamonov] Let us not delude ourselves for the legal status of servicemen cannot be improved merely by introducing, for instance, a separate chapter on the "Rights and Freedoms of the Servicemen" in the regulations. There must be a special Law on the Status of Servicemen. Here they could spell out all the components of this status. Including the rights and freedoms which are limited due to the specific nature of military service. And also the rights, duties and responsibility stemming solely from the particular features of military service.

[V. Luneyev] Nikolay Vladimirovich [Artamonov] has raised difficult questions. The principle for resolving them should be, as I feel, one alone: everything is possible that is not prohibited. At present, we are endeavoring to revive this. But this must be done in a more intelligent manner.

[Leader] How?

[V. Luneyev] The designated principle should operate in a dual manner. In terms of the subordinate: everything is possible that is not prohibited. But, as for what a serviceman cannot do, for instance, due to the specific features of service, this also should be spelled out, stating that this cannot be done. In terms of the superior in relation to the subordinate there should be the rule: everything is possible that is allowed. Then the situation would change. This is a very fundamental question. To extend in the future the principle "everything is possible that is not prohibited" to the relation of a superior to a subordinate would mean a further prevalence of illegality.

Let us take the question of disciplinary responsibility. A superior can punish a subordinate virtually at will, having defined his actions as an infraction. But where is the boundary here? Certainly simply ludicrous instances are encountered: for instance when a reprimand is imposed...for the delayed painting of curbs the favorite color of a superior! Could this actually happen? Disciplinary responsibility must be based on the fact that a superior can impose a reprimand only when there has actually been a disciplinary infraction.

And what about our criminal liability? The boundary between a crime and a disciplinary infraction is virtually

eroded. At the same time, the commanders are accused of being engaged in a cover-up. But that is how they are oriented. Some, for instance, might consider a certain illegal action to be an infraction and others would consider it a crime. Here things often work out that if a commander likes a soldier, then it will be considered an infraction and if not then it is a crime.

At present, a draft is being worked out for a new law on criminal liability for military crimes. I have been involved in its discussion and in the final conclusion. This draft contains an article which states that criminal liability can be lifted with the applying of public or disciplinary action upon the decision of the commander and with permission from the procurator. That supposedly is humane....

[Leader] But again it turns out that distinction is eliminated between an infraction and a crime. In practice the same action can again be described differently.

[V. Luneyev] This is why, in my view, it is high time to substantially restrict the discriminatory powers of the superiors. Understandably we cannot abandon them completely. Life remains life and you cannot anticipate everything in it. But there should be a tendency toward the narrowing of such powers.

It is said at times that the disciplinary powers strengthen the authority of a commander. But in fact they undermine and destroy this. Why? Because, on the one hand, there is a nihilism toward the law since the commander ends up above the law. On the other, a superior, in taking advantage of this, loses his authority. But if he acted within the context of the law, this would cause respect among subordinates.

[N. Artamonov] Many of our rights and particularly duties and responsibility have been regulated by the orders of the minister of defense and by the directives of his deputies. On the one hand, this is inescapable. The army must be controllable. But when we speak about the legal status of a serviceman, its standards cannot be fixed by orders and directives. These must be reinforced by laws. When we are involved with an order or instructions, even the best of them, this is still just acts of control.

At present, for example, an order of the minister of defense has approved the Regulation on Regular Military Service. And there it is stated that a serviceman in this category does not have the right to wear civilian clothing. But why does the minister establish this and not the law? Moreover, when a soldier gets married he should report to the commander; he does not have the right to study in civilian institutions of learning. But why again does the minister of defense introduce such a procedure? You will agree that in principle these are questions relating exclusively to the rights of a citizen and a serviceman does not cease to be such. But it turns out that standards which are essentially right on the restricting of certain civil rights of a serviceman stem from an order. But it should be from a law.

[I. Vashkevich] Allow me to point out that according to Article 68 of the Law on Universal Military Service, a serviceman is a citizen with full rights and the particular features of his legal status are defined by this same law and the combined-arms regulations. However, the given enactments have "gaps" and a number of questions concerning legal status is covered by other laws (on labor collectives or cooperatives), by decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers (on the procedure for officer service, for registration and benefits) or even by the orders and directives of the minister of defense and the chief of the General Staff (the procedure for the study of an officer in civilian VUZes and the service by soldiers and seamen). Such a broad circle of different-level documents of course impedes their use. This also dictates the need for a standard Law on the Status of a Serviceman.

[K. Kuznetsov] I have a question for Col Artamonov: You are certain that a Law on the Legal Status of Servicemen will be adopted but where will all our rights be reflected?

[N. Artamonov] I am doing everything possible and everything within my power for this. And I will do it. But there are also indications that some are endeavoring to reduce everything to regulations which would stipulate a portion of the rights of the servicemen. You might ask where are the others? In reply you would hear: Why must we set down the rights? But personally I will continue to work for the adoption of such a law.

[K. Kuznetsov] This law should be adopted as quickly as possible. Why? The first reason is that many officers of the junior command personnel are leaving. And basically not because they are poorly paid. The main reason is the absence of any true social protection and amenities.

### The Heritage...of Lev Trotsky?

[Leader] Clearly the given opinion is not devoid of justification. But it cannot be said that here we have already dotted all the "i's." For example, according to the USSR Constitution, citizens of our nation have the right to legal defense and to protest to the court the illegal actions of officials who infringe their rights. But does the serviceman have such a right? What about the members of his family? How is this realized in practice?

[A. Koblikov] I would be so bold as to assert that at present the servicemen in practical terms could not utilize such a right. Why? Because there is a law dated to 1987 which states literally the following: it is impossible to contest to the court actions by officials relating to national defense or ensuring state security. From the very outset this has been interpreted as if the servicemen do not have the right to petition the court.

[Leader] Would the real defense of serviceman rights be aided by a draft Law on Military Tribunals and which was prepared upon a decision of the Second Congress of People's Deputies?

[A. Koblikov] In my view, here in practical terms there is little to be changed. Our military tribunals are, in essence, the same criminal courts. They arose as such during the Civil War. And they were subordinate to the military department. Lev Trotskiy was the chairman of the Republic Revolutionary-Military Council [RVSR] at that time, as you will remember. What did he see as the purpose of the military tribunals? Let me quote: "The army cannot be organized without repression, it is impossible to lead the masses to their death without having the death penalty in the arsenal of the command. The soldier must be placed between the possible death in front and the inevitable death behind." The 1919 Law on Military Tribunals stated that the military tribunals are given the right of completely unrestricted repression. Then came the 1930s. The military tribunals were not enough and the "groups of seven," "threes" or even "twos" went to work....

At present, a serviceman cannot turn to a military tribunal with a complaint. Even with a dispute about a civil right, for instance, between two officers, they must turn to a people's court. Because military tribunals are a criminal court. Only where there are not the general courts do they also resolve civil cases. Let us hope that the USSR Supreme Soviet will take measures so that the military tribunals acted as the guarantors of serviceman rights.

[Leader] All the same, is there anything new in defending the rights of the servicemen?

[A. Koblikov] Article 2 of the Draft Internal Service Regulations states that on service questions a serviceman should turn to his immediate superior and, with his permission, to the next superior up the line of command. For personal questions as well as in the event of illegal actions toward him by other servicemen, the draft permits turning to the military procuracy for protection but only "with special necessity." For instance, if you have been beaten up, then it is possible that an extreme necessity has arisen.

But this certainly is not a constitutional standard. It contradicts the law. Including the Law on the USSR Procuracy and the Law of the Status of Judges in the USSR. Of course, no room was found for it in the combined-arms regulations. We must now move to a situation where a serviceman possesses a sufficient amount of rights. But in any event, his constitutional right to a court defense in no way must be limited to just the regulations.

[A. Pchelintsev] I support this idea. The level of legal guarantees of rights is actually high, when any citizen can turn to the court. This is set out in Part 2 of Article 58 of the USSR Constitution. Pursuant to this standard, the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1987 adopted the USSR Law "On the Procedure for Protest to the Court Illegal Actions by Officials Infringing the Rights of Citizens." There a provision is found according to which actions related to ensuring the nation's defense capability cannot

be protested to the court. Such a general and hazy formulation in essence has deprived all servicemen of the right to legal defense.

Lenin's demand to provide each citizen with the right to prosecute any official before the court without a petition to superiors thus remains unfulfilled.

[A. Ukolov] In the broad sense, the Law "On the Procedure for Protest to the Court Illegal Actions by Officials Infringing the Rights of Citizens" extends to servicemen and to the members of their families. As for the special procedure for the protesting by servicemen of actions of commanders and superiors, this procedure, although limiting the sphere of application of the law, nevertheless makes it possible to assess the actions of officials not only from the viewpoint of effectiveness and this is not done by the court.

It is also possible to point out that the current legislation provides a serviceman with the right to protest the illegal actions of officials in the Armed Forces both up the line of command in accord with the Disciplinary Regulations as well as to the military procurator. The Regulation Governing the Military Procuracy does not contain any restrictions related to the presence of a special procedure in the Armed Forces for protesting the actions of officials.

[Leader] What guarantees our rights and how are they realized?

[S. Ilyushin] Prof Koblikov has stated correctly that the court should act as the guarantor of rights. In the Armed Forces, this is the military tribunal.

[Leader] Here we have already mentioned the right of the servicemen to protest the actions of officials. But why only officials? Certainly an officer, warrant officer or reenlisted man should be able to protest the actions, for example, of the housing commission. Clearly the problem must be viewed more broadly. On a level so as to provide the right of protest not only for actions of officials but also collective bodies.

[S. Ilyushin] Undoubtedly. At present, the military tribunals are an implement of struggle merely against infractions of the law. However, I feel that a process is underway of gradually turning them into an instrument for the legal defense of the servicemen. Certainly within those limits which are outlined by the law, the military tribunals do a good deal to provide real protection for the servicemen.

Each year we examine a large number of cases (one-fifth) in which soldiers, sailors, sergeants and petty officers are held liable for encroaching on the honor and dignity of other servicemen, that is, the rights of victims are protected. Over the last 5 years, the number of absolutions has doubled. There has been the process of rehabilitating servicemen unjustly condemned in previous years and so forth.

In a word, we have enough problems. We are working on solving them. Thus, amendments of legislation are expected which, I would propose, will make it possible to more fully realize the right of any serviceman to turn directly to a court. For now, the mass information media correctly continue to raise the problems of the ill-fated Lists No 1 and 2 which for individual categories of individuals establish a special (not court) procedure of protest.

This is an anachronism. Just like the special procedure of protest set for servicemen. In accord with this, a soldier, seaman, sergeant or petty officer in a number of instances is deprived of the right to resort directly to the tribunal. What is a soldier, seaman, sergeant or petty officer doing there? Even a military procurator does not have the right to protest an illegal decision by a commander, although even V.I. Lenin insisted on such a procedure. A procurator now protests illegal actions to the superior command which sometimes judges them, as in the 1920s, not from the viewpoint of legality but rather from the viewpoint of advisability.

[Leader] What is specifically being done by your department about this now?

[S. Ilyushin] As for now, in the draft of the new Law on Military Tribunals, amendments are planned only in criminal legal proceedings. As for civil cases, for now everything remains as it was. This question must be reviewed and the servicemen must be provided with the main guarantee of their legal protection, that is, the opportunity to turn directly to the court.

[A. Pchelintsev] But certainly the draft of the Law on Military Tribunals has already been presented for review by the USSR Supreme Soviet. What has prevented this important provision from being incorporated in it?

[S. Ilyushin] Generally nothing has prevented this....

[N. Bay] Why is it that in making studies and creating at present new legislation, we do not take these problems into account and do not incorporate in the laws a mechanism for resolving them? It turns out that even now everything comes from Lev Trotskiy. And we leave the military tribunals only a punitive function.

[S. Ilyushin] You now how, unfortunately, at times we work on the laws. Those who have participated in this can confirm that it is always faster, faster.... It is merely a matter of getting it done, but it is not important how. If one speaks about the preparing of the Law on Military Tribunals, then there was no question of anything different except criminal and civil policy under army conditions. It is a good thing that this is coming to a head. In time, clearly, a mechanism for resolving it will be set down in some law.

[N. Bay] Regardless that a good deal has been said here already on this question, I have a question for Col Ilyushin. We can see that the problem has not been solved because the military tribunal does not take

civilian cases. But are these civilian suits if they are involved, for instance, with housing and rest on the commander? Or take the question of finding jobs for the wives of servicemen and much else. I would like to learn whether the military tribunals are ready to assume the corresponding functions of the people's courts? Or does this contradict something?

[S. Ilyushin] No, it does not.

[N. Bay] Then what are the difficulties?

[S. Ilyushin] As always, it is the limited number of workers of the military tribunals. When this question is raised they say that there are no personnel. But a solution to the problem would require at least a doubling of the number of judges on the military tribunals.

[A. Koblikov] Let me reinforce this notion with the following figures. Each year the nation handles approximately 2 million civil cases in the people's courts and about 2.5-fold less criminal ones. It is not difficult to imagine how the load would increase on the military tribunals if they were to examine civil cases.

[S. Ilyushin] At present, the military tribunals each year review just 2,000-2,500 civil cases.

[A. Ukolov] Of course, nothing is preventing the military tribunals from assuming the functions of defending the rights and interests of the servicemen. Proof of this is the activities of the military tribunals in the closed garrisons and in the groups of forces....

[N. Bay] That is precisely what I had in mind. When the draft of the Law on Defense was being worked out, it did not go to the TsFU [Central Financial Directorate]. But certainly we, for example, were concerned with the problems of some 1.3 million former servicemen or reserve servicemen and the question of their interests and their protection is acute. Clearly this and much else must also be provided for. And so it turns out that we work out laws for ourselves which are to our liking. This is an abnormal practice.

[A. Koblikov] I agree. Even Academician Kudryavtsev wrote at one time that it is preposterous that the departments write laws for themselves. In a state under the law this is equally strange. These would be laws "convenient" for the departments.

#### The "Torments" of Legal Science

[A. Pchelintsev] For ensuring legal reform in the USSR Armed Forces, including for a radical improvement in the legislation concerning the status of the servicemen, it is essential to involve a large number of skilled personnel. For example, take the military reform of 1924-1925. That really was a revolutionary restructuring of the army. For carrying it out under the RVS [Revolutionary-Military Council], they established a military legislative directorate of over 50 men. It worked out the drafts of

the fundamentally new military legislative enactments for the Red Army and it was by these that the reform was carried out.

At present, we are carrying out typologically similar tasks. But there is no body which would bring together the problems of improving military legislation and would be concerned with studying the military legislation of foreign countries. The Military Legislation Department of the Affairs Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense is maintained according to a temporary TOE and it has just several persons. And certainly the law is an instrument of perestroika. For this reason, there must be a center for military legal research.

[N. Artamonov] The question, in my view, has been correctly posed. But I do not agree with those who rebuke us by saying that you lawyers solve important problems so badly and why do you not achieve a solution to them? Scientists, why are you silent? Yes, it is essential to raise "painful" questions more sharply and speak about them more loudly. However, for now they simply do not hear us at the apex of power.

Here is an example. Even in 1983, in an article printed in Issue No 5 of the journal SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, I wrote that servicemen are unjustifiably deprived of an opportunity to turn with a complaint about a commander or a superior to the court, to other state and social bodies and to other officials except for the superior chief. They cannot even turn to such bodies which function in the Armed Forces, such as the military procuracy, the military tribunal or the military press organs. I went on to make a number of proposals. No one responded to them.

[V. Luneyev] In my view, the main thing here is not that we must speak openly of acute problems or someone must study them. This goes without saying. First of all, there should be a mechanism for adopting laws, a mechanism for coordinating. This does not exist. A corresponding scientific expert evaluation should also exist. But it does not. While it does in individual instances, what happens? For example, the drafts of the new laws are sent to us at the Institute of State and Law. The scientists study them and write conclusions but no one pays any attention to this.

[V. Minin] Speaking honestly, it has nothing to do with military science to speak specifically about what is going on in the army. I came here today to hear an exchange of opinions, to take those thoughts and ideas which have not been accepted or not used by the military leadership and report them to the people's deputies, thereby aiding in their realization. Possibly even to help by this to make progress in military and also legal science. The current disregard of the status of a military scientist is alarming. Certainly a scientist is responsible for introducing the new, as a rule, which runs contrary to the existing, to the accepted principles. A military scientist in his current status would find it rather hard to carry out this function of development.

[A. Pchelintsev] I share the concern for the poor defense of the military science. And let me add that a major problem for today remains as before the training of personnel for the law enforcement and court bodies generally and the military court ones, in particular. Thus, 40 percent of the military judges do not have a military education or have received it by correspondence. Clearly from this indicator to some degree it is possible to judge the quality of the work being done in the given area. Has not our legal science withered up because of this? And only now is the situation beginning to straighten itself out with great difficulty.

[V. Seregin] I would like to mention a certain gap between science and practice. For example, housing legislation. Each family member has an equal right to the occupied housing area. Seemingly, everything would be clear. But what about the order of the USSR minister of defense of 1985? There we see that the family members do not have a right to housing space. If an officer is transferred to a new place of service, then his wife, children, mother-in-law and so forth should leave the occupied space.

Or another question. Where is it stated that without residence registration an officer's wife cannot be hired for work? Can one mention even one law? It was Stalin on 27 December 1932 in the aim of combating the kulaks and criminals who ordered that everyone must be registered and no one could be hired without registration. How many years have passed, but this has become rooted in our conscience and is still working in practice. Why has not the procuracy protested this Stalinist order and why has it not raised the question of repealing it? Military science is silent about this. The procuracy is also silent....

#### **The Procurator...In the Role of a Suppliant**

[Leader] At present, the question has been raised repeatedly of where the procuracy is looking when the law is violated. Is our procuracy supervision generally effective?

[L. Smertin] Let us be clear here. As is known, the procurator exercises supervision over the execution of the laws by officials, bodies and all citizens. It has already been stated that at present very many executive orders are in effect including orders, directives, instructions, guides and memoranda.... But these are not laws. The procurator does not supervise their fulfillment. As they say, that is not his business.

[V. Seregin] I recently was on a mission to the Far East. There I met with an officer who for 5 years had served conscientiously in colonel's position. He is now 45 years old. But he has not been given the rank of colonel. Why? Someone established an age ban. Who? He was told that the corresponding instruction had come from the Personnel Department of the Pacific Fleet. He went there. They explained that the instruction that the rank of colonel was not to be awarded at an age of 45 had come from the Navy Personnel Directorate. He went to

Moscow. There he was sent to the GUK [Main Personnel Directorate]. There was no end to it.... And also was this legal? We feel it was not. Here is where the military procuracy should take a hand. But that does not happen....

[A. Zarubin] I would like to mention about myself. I was the assistant military procurator at the Vladimir Garrison. A little more than a year ago, my daughter suffered a severe, incurable illness. She was judged to be a disabled child. In January of last year, a son was born in our family. Added to these troubles were service worries and a contender appeared for my job. They tried in every possible way to transfer me to another place.

Ultimately, I was forced to agree to a transfer. But I requested that help be given to me in finding an apartment as we had to look after a sick child. A proposal was made as an assistant military procurator of a garrison. I agreed as I was promised housing in the city. And immediately upon my arrival.

When I arrived at the new place of service, there was no apartment as it had already been given to someone else....

Soon thereafter, my troubles were further added to when my wife fell ill. She was operated on and I feel one could understand in what sort of situation she was after this. I had to look after my sick daughter, a nursing child and my wife.

I turned to the district procurator for help with an apartment. I was merely told that they would move me again.... Where would I be transferred now?!

It was strange. If you share your misfortunes not with lawyers but with simple people, they understand and sympathize. But if you speak with the garrison military procurator or with the district military procurator it seems as though there is nothing special in my situation. What rights do I have? It turns out that I have none at all. Where can I turn to? It turns out that an assistant procurator has piddling rights. Could he do much, you might ask, if he needs help himself?...

[Leader] It turns out that the status of the law defender also needs improving?

[S. Ilyushin] The Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has already answered a number of questions here, although understandably the necessity of a further improvement in the legislation has still not been eliminated. As for the military judges and the people's chairmen, many questions of their legal protection have now been settled in the Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR. As is known, it went into effect on 1 December 1989 and contains the Special Section "Basic Guarantees for the Independence of the Judges and People's Chairmen."

[N. Artamonov] Pursuant to our conversation, we should say the following. The figure of the investigator in a military procuracy is vulnerable. In speaking with

young investigators, you can see that at times they are confused. In what sense? They do not know whom...to play up to. We tell them that you must not play up to anyone, rather play up to the law. But this is easy enough to say. But it is extremely difficult to do this under the conditions of dependence on very many questions upon the military procurator, the local command, the constant and rather hard pressure brought to bear by them.

### Nominally a Student, Really a Soldier

[O. Prisyazhnyuk] I would like to bring up the following about students. Who is a student? Why at present are just certain rights of students and officer cadets who have served their regular service being considered? For instance, it is possible to live in a certain city or not. Why are other questions not being settled? According to the law, I am a reenlisted serviceman with all the consequences stemming from this. This means both legal status and pay....

[N. Bay] Then there should be different rates for this.

[O. Prisyazhnyuk] Certainly many questions could be settled immediately.

[N. Bay] If there is no apartment, then as of 1 January of this year, a reenlisted man should be paid 2 rubles a day.

[A. Koblikov] I feel that the students would study better than now.

[M. Matakina] Here much is caused by the shortage of materiel....

[N. Artamonov] In that instance our entire conversation could be reduced to zero, having said one thing that there is no money.

[O. Prisyazhnyuk] Please forgive me. Here they were discussing the question of the Law of Universal Military Service. There is an article which regulates how long a serviceman in regular service should serve: 2 or 3 years. According to the USSR Constitution, a person should do regular service once. But what about the persons admitted to military schools after going through their regular service? What about them, should they not have equal rights with everyone else? And for another 4 or 5 years?

[M. Matakina] At present, it has already been provided that servicemen in regular service who have been admitted to a military school can reside in the barracks for that period which they have yet to serve.

[A. Pchelintsev] Officer Candidate Prisyazhnyuk has just spoken. He went through Afghanistan. He was wounded. He has military decorations. But...he has again gone through the course of a young soldier. He is married. He has a family. Until recently, he has been billeted in the barracks. Now, in truth, he is in a dormitory but that is purely nominal. Considering his regular service, he has spent 7 years in the barracks. Is that really normal?!

[V. Minin] At present, the tension in the Armed Forces is steadily rising over many problems. I am afraid that the same thing may happen with our army as it did with the Komsomol. Do you understand? I see that the officer candidates are confused by halves. They do not know whether the cutback will be large or small, whether the army will be professional or not. I see that of those who are serving many are dissatisfied and are ready now to leave for a cooperative or someplace else. Hence, when we speak about legal protection, clearly we must view the general problems of the army.

#### The Law Should "Work"

[M. Matakina] There is also the following problem of how are the good standards operating, including those which provide definite benefits and advantages to the servicemen?

[N. Yermenko] Three years ago I was serving in Afghanistan. When I was there, many benefits were offered, including admission to an academy. At present, when everything has ended, the Afghan veterans were the same as anyone else. Is that really just?

[M. Matakina] For instance, for several decades there has been the provision that a serviceman about to be discharged is given housing for 3 months....

[N. Artamonov] In a place which he has chosen?

[M. Matakina] Yes, precisely so, in a place which he has chosen. But if you will ask those present here whether they had ever witnessed instances when their fellow serviceman was discharged and for a period of 3 months was given an apartment, for instance, in Leningrad, Bryansk or Smolensk, you would scarcely find any such example. They wait years for housing. The law does not go into action because of the economic conditions.

But what happens? There are good standards but they are not carried out. And not merely because of factors of an economic sort, but at times as a result of legal illiteracy and incompetence.

[I. Vashkevich] The law should be good, however its execution should also. And here, it seems to me, we are again following in the old rut. Let us speak solely about the importance of the military procuracy and the military tribunal in observing the laws. Of course, this is great. But certainly both the procuracy and the tribunal work if the law has already been violated, when there has been a clash and justice must be restored.

[From the table] In a word, it is johnny-come-lately....

[I. Vashkevich] Precisely. But in a state under the law the role should be strengthened for those bodies which prevent violations of the laws. And on this level we must not forget the legal service. And if one were to speak about certain advances, then among the most significant I would put the introduction into the divisions, the training centers and many headquarters bodies the assistant commanders for legal work.

In order not to be unsubstantiated, let me give data on legal work prepared for a session of the Military Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Defense. For instance, in just 8 months of 1989, our legal consultants gave around 50,000 consultations, they participated in the receiving by the commanders of around 7,000 servicemen and other citizens and conducted over 3,000 exercises. They participated directly in the working out of many decisions by the commanders and supervised their legality. As a result, they prevented the promulgating of over 6,500 illegal acts and presented around 3,000 for repeal. For example, the commander of one of the units in the Siberian Military District ordered that money be withheld from two officers "for the failure to promptly take measures to instill proper order and in organizing the equipment park service...and this led to the failure of 20 storage batteries." However, as was established, this happened not due to the fault of the officers but due to the negligence of the drivers. The order was repealed by a senior chief.

[N. Artamonov] But 3,000 already had gone into effect....

[I. Vashkevich] You must realize that the assistant commanders for legal work are just being introduced down to the divisional level inclusively. And there still are the regiments.... The idea might arise that we should start with the regiments, as it is basically there that the illegality happens. Let me explain that on this question there were no arguments in principle in the Ministry of Defense. But there was not the personnel. The nation has 4-fold fewer lawyers than is needed. So for now the task of fully manning the divisions is realistically feasible.

[M. Matakina] Now about the assistant commanders for legal work in the regiments. Yes, there is a necessity, and a very acute one, for their introduction. But for now we cannot carry this out in practice. Because of the unavailability of the corresponding personnel, the money and for a number of other reasons.

A few words on the assistant formation commanders for legal work. We began to be involved with introducing them in 1985. Initially by constructing a general plan and then actually carrying it out on the basis of the Moscow Military District. We had to do a good deal of traveling in the garrisons, select and train the men and provide the staffs. The first impressions are outright skepticism or even rejection by the commanders. We could understand their feelings. Certainly the stereotypes had already been created. The first is: a lawyer in a division and this means that if there is an accident, there will be an investigation, reprimands and removals.... And secondly, he will provide supervision and report.... Again, unpleasantnesses. For this reason, it was essential first of all to break these stereotypes and explain to the commanders why assistants for legal work were being introduced.

We are now beginning to introduce this innovation in the other district and groups of forces. And again we often encounter the negative response from the commanders.

[N. Bay] Here obviously one can feel the misunderstanding that this is an element of legal protection for the commanders themselves.

[V. Nalivayko] Precisely so. When the commanders in our district realized that the assistants for legal work were not investigators, were not procurators, but rather performed other functions, then the attitude toward them changed fundamentally. They helped investigate conflict situations, to correctly prepare draft orders on holding servicemen materially liable and even to resolve disputed questions, for example, with the railroad department and other civilian organizations....

Take, for example, the district staff. Many questions are now resolved by the chiefs of the directorates only after consultation with the lawyers.

There is also another side to this question. The assistant formation commanders for legal work take an active part in conducting exercises within the system of legal education. We feel that here we do not need to point out the obvious that as specialists they bring great benefit here. Generally speaking, the army has long needed a sufficient saturation with lawyers. And on all areas of the law.

[L. Smertin] The USSR Constitution guarantees the servicemen definite rights, various laws guarantee them, but at present we can look and see that they are far from all being observed. And will it not happen that again our next new law will be...dead? Would it not be better to follow a different path? To achieve the actual fulfillment of the existing legislation. As of now this has not happened largely because of our legal illiteracy. For instance, if Maj Zarubin were not a lawyer but rather an officer of the troops, would his apartment question have arisen? I am certain that they would have found some "way out." For example, he would have been temporarily settled somewhere in the unit. Many other questions are "settled" in a similar manner.

Incidentally, here much is said about arbitrariness. They ask where is the procurator looking?! The impression may be created that complete arbitrariness actually does reign in the army. That is not the case.

[V. Luneyev] Not complete....

[L. Smertin] What is my point here? In my view, one of the ways for resolving many problems has already been found. It has been discussed here. In fact, it is essential to introduce an assistant commander for legal work in each formation, in each unit. Let us refer to the figures. Just look: the legal service held up 3,500 illegal orders and each year the procuracy discovers up to 7,000 illegal orders. The question might arise: does this actually correspond to the state of affairs? No, the real picture is significantly worse....

[N. Bay] But would the assistant commanders for legal work actually solve the problem?

[L. Smertin] No....

[N. Bay] I have spoken with the officers invited here from the troops. They say that an absolute majority of the orders which violate the rights of the servicemen and deprecate human dignity are issued on the division—regiment level. Hence, clearly the question must be posed as follows: the command positions must be filled by persons who possess both legal knowledge and the ability to apply this in practical activity.

### In the Old Rut?

[I. Vashkevich] I am an optimist and I feel that we are still making progress. The grounds for such a conclusion is the present conversation among other things. It is a different question that our progress at times appears very paradoxical. Take the drafts of the new combined-arms regulations. In principle, this is an essential undertaking. But, unfortunately, they have ended up in a spirit of the so-called time of stagnation. They contain many omissions and even provisions which contradict the legitimate interests of the servicemen.

For instance, the making of a complaint. It has been ruled that a serviceman has the right to make a complaint in writing only up the line of command. Well, how could he turn, for example, to a people's deputy, if the latter is hundreds of kilometers away?

[Leader] But take the attitude of subordinates to an order of the commander.

[I. Vashkevich] I recall that even in the time of Peter I, a soldier, a serf, had the right to argue over the "noble" order of an officer as to whether it was just or unjust. And if it was unjust, Peter wrote in his ukase, then don't carry it out! But in the 73d year of Soviet power, we are still afraid that all of a sudden if it is said publically, an unjust order is invalid the servicemen will begin to ignore other "correct" orders?! I feel that our attitude toward illegal orders must be clearly set out in the regulations. And it should be provided that if a serviceman executes a criminal order, then in accord with the new criminal legislation he will bear responsibility along with that commander who issued it.

Moreover, our commander has the right to demand that a subordinate repeat the order and explain how he understands it. But clearly then the subordinate should have the right to ascertain from the commander what is the importance of the order and how it is to be carried out.

[A. Pchelintsev] The principle of the conditional obligation of an order operated in Russian legislation until the October Revolution and was even adopted by the young Soviet state. However, at the end of the 1930s, it was replaced by absolute obedience which has existed up to now, including in the draft of the new Disciplinary

Regulations. Is it possible now to agree with such a situation? In my view, we cannot. Our nation is the only one in the civilized world which in its legislation gives justification to the carrying out of an incorrect order. Hence, many tragedies and broken human lives.

[I. Vashkevich] This is perfectly true, for here remains yet another "blank spot." For example, according to the draft regulations, a serviceman who is spotted inebriated by a patrol should be immediately put under guard and sent to the guardhouse. But there is also the Article 162 of the RSFSR Code of Administrative Infractions, the corresponding articles in the codes of all the other Union republics, where it states clearly about what citizen can be "picked up" under the "intoxicated" article: only the one who by his appearance insults human dignity and public morality. Possibly that is rather hazy. But certainly the law is the law.

According to the draft regulation in any event, if a military driver has violated the traffic rules, an inspector of the VAI [Military Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] can take away his license. Again, let us look at the RSFSR Code of Administrative Infractions and we will see that a license is confiscated only in the event that the nature of the violation is such that it could involve the loss of the driver's license.

[Leader] Clearly such examples could be continued?

[I. Vashkevich] Of course. And they all will show that in the draft of the new regulations there is a pile of inconsistencies. For instance, the following. The Chapter "Participation of Troops in Meetings and Demonstrations" has been introduced. Under present conditions, this clearly is necessary. And here this problem has already been touched on. But certainly we must consider that a meeting or a demonstration is not a troop ritual but rather democratic process. For this reason, in the corresponding article of the chapter it would be a good thing to state: "At the desire of the servicemen." If I am not interested in a given meeting, then why should I go to it? This, so to speak, concerns that concreteness which must be realized in a legislative manner.

[N. Bay] Just look how many enforceable enactments we have. There is a Regulation on Active Military Service by Officer Personnel. There is a Law on Universal Military Service. There are regulations which regulate the details. At present, we are discussing the social protection of the servicemen. Is a separate enforceable enactment needed which would bring together and incorporate all these problems?

[I. Vashkevich] Here we cannot help but consider the following question: as of now the status of an officer is determined by a provision of the USSR Council of Ministers and that of a soldier by a provision of the minister of defense. If the Law Governing the Status of Servicemen will stipulate that the status of all is determined by a uniform enactment, then it would be reasonable to limit ourselves to a single document. For now,

this does not exist and hence there is no equality. As is known, you cannot see the trees for the forest.

[N. Bay] Well, what is your opinion specifically?

[I. Vashkevich] Of course, everyone should be equal. I propose that.

[N. Bay] According to the USSR Constitution, everyone is equal. The question rather is: Do we presently need a separate law on the social protection of the servicemen?

[I. Vashkevich] As I have already said, a number of enactments reinforcing the legal status and the sociolegal protection of the servicemen has already been adopted. At present, work is underway to systematize these provisions and to give them a higher legal status. A draft of the USSR Law on Defense has been worked out as the basic document. It has been sent out to the troops and the USSR people's deputies who are servicemen have also received it. All the comments have already been analyzed, generalized and submitted for review by the Collegium of the Ministry of Defense for submission to the Supreme Soviet.

The draft of a new Regulation on Military Service by Officer Personnel has also been worked out. The basic innovations here are: differentiated leave (35 days for 10 years served, 40 days for 20 years and 45 days for 25 years); the possibility of being discharged upon request after 10 years; obligatory weekly rest and a normal workday (as yet not concrete, although according to international law a clearer formulation is possible); a procedure for being restored to the army with an illegal discharge; the duty of the command to inform an officer 2 months before discharge; the right to participate in the social organizations active in the Armed Forces and in other officially recognized ones in notifying the command of this; the banning of a trade union and unofficial organizations.

But for now, laws on the status of servicemen, on military obligation and military service at present are just being worked out. Their structure has been established. They will be reviewed and approved after the adopting of the USSR Law on Defense.

[M. Matakina] I would like to continue. The servicemen have many rights, but all of them—both economic, political and social—are set out in different enforceable documents.

[N. Bay] That was the sense of my question....

[M. Matakina] For this reason, in the draft of the Law on the Status of Servicemen, the following should be incorporated structurally. In the first place, general provisions: the categories of persons covered by the given law, the beginning and end of their state in military service. Secondly, rights and obligations: benefits, compensation, pensions, the guarantee of rights, the procedure for protesting illegal actions, legal responsibility, liability of officials for violating the rights of servicemen. This is

what we already have. Of course, not in a final form. Work is continuing on the draft.

[A. Koblikov] Marx at one time said that "society is based not on law. That is a fantasy of the lawyers. On the contrary, law should be based on society. It should be an expression of its general interests and needs stemming from the given material method of production."

Of course, law must be brought into accord with the real situation which has come into being now. Three months for obtaining housing is a declaration. And Prof Luneyev was correct in saying that in essence we have a discrediting of the law. But there are things which now could be completely resolved by law. For instance, give an officer the opportunity to retire from the Armed Forces if he desires this. Such a right could and should be given and it is realistic. There are many similar examples.

The legal status of servicemen must now be seriously strengthened. It should serve to turn military service into an attractive profession, in any event for officers, and provide human conditions for the soldiers and sergeants. They should be conditions worthy of a free, democratic society.

[O. Prisyazhnyuk] We feel that the authority of the law is undermined and it is discredited not only by those standards which at times are being adopted now hurriedly and without thinking but also by those which have been in effect for a comparatively long time. For instance, a person, if he has been admitted to a military school after service in the army, for a period of 6-7 years of his life receives 25 rubles a month. If he has a wife with one child, then it is 35 rubles a month. This is below the poverty line! Certainly is that not a discrediting of the law? Other examples could also be given.

[N. Artamonov] A fundamental question. But laws must not be equated to our economic capabilities. We must not refuse to a law that it forces one to seek out and find opportunities. For each person. In a specific place. The law at present is emerging in first place in the system of priorities. And it is essential that the law encourage the search for the means and change the economic system.... Prof Koblikov is right: at present, there must be a legislative enactment in which the figure of the serviceman is sketched out from legal positions. Then many questions and confusions will be removed. All of this ultimately should be expressed in the law. And restrictions, including legal ones, must be compensated for. Then there will be persons who desire to serve in the Transbaykal and in other remote areas. If the salary there is increased, for instance, by 5-fold, then you will find volunteers. The increase can be made by redistributing the money.

If the appropriate legal status is provided for an officer, if he feels that he is engaged in a real job and is obtaining proper remuneration for this, then the question of those desiring to serve will not arise. We recently in the year have been losing 10-12 graduating classes of the military schools and this is an enormous departure of young

officers from the Armed Forces. Ten-12 graduating classes! Would that they were not!

So, a law on military status is also needed so that a young person can become acquainted with it and decide whether this is suitable for him or not. Now a notion of the legal aspect of military service can be gained only by studying scores of documents.

[V. Luneyev] Here it has been proposed that let us make service and the life of an officer prestigious. Then there will be no shortage of those desiring to become a regular military man. But the scientists have said: let us make science prestigious. Certainly everything begins with it. The physicians assert that no, the main thing is health. And so forth. That is to say, we have many priorities.

What should we do? If the law comes to outstrip the existing economic capabilities, then it will discredit itself. Examples of this have already been given. I feel that here there is one solution: we must move forward consistently. Those discords which have arisen in perestroika are largely a result of the fact that one thing has gotten ahead of something else. The economy and law should develop in parallel.

[V. Minin] Certain speeches have touched on the question of granting an officer the right to be discharged from military service after a certain time. I can say that this is on the agenda in the Committee for Youth Affairs. And it is only because of the great workload that it has not yet been brought up for review. But this will be done without fail. In what manner do we view the given problem? A portion of the deputies, including the military, is merely carrying out the orders of the voters. Others see it differently: the right of an officer when he so desires to retire "into civilian life" should serve for the leadership of the Armed Forces as a sort of motivation in settling the question of converting to other principles for forming the army.

Marx said that as soon as a state was created, virtually all its members begin to work for the army. But the time is over when the "image of the enemy" forced us to devote everything to protecting ourselves. At present, there must be some optimum, possibly mercenary, army.

[Leader] Our discussion has come to an end. I would like to emphasize again that due to objective factors, our servicemen have never benefited and clearly will not benefit from all the rights and freedoms of the citizens as set out in the USSR Constitution. Here certain restrictions are inevitable. Otherwise, it would be hard to imagine the functioning of the army as a specific organism. For this reason, the rather hazy provision in Article 6 of the draft of the new Internal Service Regulations which states that servicemen benefit from all civil rights considering "the particular features deriving from the conditions of military service," in our view, requires a fundamental reworking. Would it not be more correct to state here not the cause, the particular features of military service, but rather the consequence of these particular features, those restrictions which actually exist

for the servicemen? The opinion of the roundtable participants on this matter was unanimous: all restrictions in rights stemming from the conditions of military service should be clearly defined. The list of these should be exhaustive, concrete and not subjected to a broad interpretation. This would conform fully with the principle of "everything is permitted that is not prohibited by the law."

**From the Editors.** The limits of this discussion could not, obviously, contain all the problems related to the sociolegal protection of servicemen. For this reason, we have not put the final period here. We are hoping that the readers will continue to discuss the given, in our view, extremely timely and acute question. We await your responses, dear comrades, with opinions and proposals which we intend to publish in subsequent issues of the journal.

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### **Russian Veteran Pleads Against Lithuanian Nationalism**

90UM0544A Moscow SOVETSKIY PATRIOT  
in Russian No 14, 2-8 Apr 90 p 10

[Article by A. Miroshnik, under the rubric, "It Is a Pity for the State": "An Open Letter to My Lithuanian Friends, It Cuts Painfully to the Quick"]

[Text] I am a Ukrainian and a native of Russia—Voronezh Oblast. It turned out that I had the opportunity to live in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania for five years of my life, from 1947 through 1952. I was in the military service there. I remember that I did not understand everything about the local inhabitants' customs and way of life: I did not understand their language, I was surprised at the thrice repeated celebration of Easter (three different dates for people professing different religions), and on Sundays, I watched curiously as the line of peasant carts, streamed in from the adjacent area to the marketplaces and the Polish Roman Catholic Churches. But before long I became accustomed to this, since I never at any place experienced ill will on the part of ordinary people.

The officer candidates in my platoon—Miskevicius, a Lithuanian; Lazda, a Lett; Tompson, an Estonian; Mikhaltsevich, a Pole; Shamal, a Belorussian; Pokhomov, a Russian; and Sivolap, a Ukrainian—lived in a single "crew quarters" in the service school barracks. Sometimes our path to the rifle range led past the children's boarding school where boys of many different nationalities lived and grew up. At times our officer candidate formation and the children's formation would overlap and then we would snatch the children up in our arms. It was pure joy. And only the command "fall in!" from Senior Lieutenant Kurgannikov, our platoon commander, cut this joyful encounter short. He himself liked such "fraternization", but work is work.

A year later grief struck our platoon commander—his three year-old son died. Lazda, the Lett, carried the small coffin and all of us walked alongside.

About five years later, Kurgannikov, the frontline soldier, left the ranks of the Soviet Army, but wound up remaining in Vilnius. He could not leave his son's remains without care and did not go back to his native Voronezh Kray. Now the news reaches my ears that this commander of ours, who taught common sense to all of us, including the Lithuanians, is now a foreigner to Lithuania. What is this? Where are the Lithuanians, Letts, and Estonians, whom he taught how to live? Why are you allowing them to declare your commander an alien, an "occupier", and an aggressor? What has become of you? Is it possible that you were lying then, while concealing your enmity? I do not believe this. I do not believe that our beloved commander Kurgannikov was an aggressor in the minds of the Lithuanian Miskevicius, the Lett Lazda, nor the Estonian Tompson. I would like to look into the eyes of my former schoolmates and ask them, do they really consider our commander an aggressor?

After graduation from infantry school in 1950, I was assigned to the Lithuanian National Rifle Division. There I was within the Lithuanians' circle: battalion commander Major Valys, company commander Captain Brazunis, platoon leader Senior Lieutenant Milinis, and political officer Lieutenant Glovackas. All of my subordinates were also Lithuanians. Thirty nine years passed, military service sent me to various parts of our homeland, and thousands of young men fell under my purview as a commander. Out of these thousands, I distinctly remember my first subordinates: the Lithuanian soldiers Vaizgela, Petraitis, Urbanis, and Stankevicius, and my first assistant, platoon leader Sergeant Cerniauskas. The other surnames have somehow grown foggy in my memory now, but I only have to close my eyes and it seems like I can see all of them. For so many years now I have been intending to go to Lithuania, find my former soldiers, sit over a cup of tea and reminisce about our youth. Because of daily cares I was always too busy, and now... I invested a little part of my mind and heart in each one of them. Is it possible that I am a foreigner to them? Is it possible that in their minds I belong to the same species as the aggressors? I do not believe it!

Valys, Brazunis, Milinis, Glovackas, Vaizgelo, Petraitis, Urbanis, Stankevicius, Cerniauskas, my Lithuanian friends! And hundreds of other fellow soldiers in the Lithuanian division! Raise your voices in favor of our union, our friendship, and our unity! Do not allow our concord to be ruined! Do not cut to the quick! Such a severance will not bring any of us happiness. I am convinced that we must salvage not only peace, the land, and the environment, we must above all salvage the amity of nations. Yes, we speak different languages, but we understood and still understand each other equally. Just because our soldier's rations are called "khleb" in Russian and "duona" in Lithuanian, they are not perceived differently by us. The aroma of bread, made from

Kuban wheat and baked in a Lithuanian oven, was loved equally by all of us. It was the bread of our homeland, and we were her soldiers.

My daughter currently lives on Lapu Street, in Vilnius, Lithuania. Her husband is Lithuanian and they have two sons, my two Lithuanian grandsons. And I am their Ukrainian grandfather, who was born and lives in the heart of Russia. Now tell me—do our different nationalities cut our family unity to the quick? If one is not poisoned by nationalism, it is impossible to agree with this and impossible to comprehend it.

My friends and brother-soldiers! I beg you, stand up for the ideas of brotherhood and do not allow evil forces to take away our happiness and well-being bit by bit into national corners.

### **Election Campaign, Party Issues Discussed at GlavPUR Conference**

*Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Apr 90  
First Edition p 2*

[Unattributed article: "In the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy: On the Eve of the Party Conferences"]

[Text] A meeting was held in the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy with the chiefs of the departments of party organizational work of the political organs of the Armed Services and force components, at which the course of the electoral campaign in the primary party organizations was examined, and the tasks of preparing for and holding the party conferences were determined.

Reports by Colonel N. Olesovets, deputy chief of the Department of Party Organizational Work, Ground Forces Political Directorate, and Major-General Yu. Ustinov, chief of the political department, Military Academy imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, were heard at the conference. Comrades V. Novoseltsev, Ye. Popov, V. Kuznetsov and A. Gorbachev spoke at the conference.

Colonel-General N. Shlyaga, first deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, summed up the results of the conference.

Those people who gave reports and who spoke noted that the reports and elections in army and navy primary party organizations are taking place, on the whole, in a well organized way, with the interested and active participation of communists. The political directorates, political organs, and party committees and bureaus are confidently and competently exerting leadership of the electoral campaign. The work of the political directorates of the Western Group of Forces, and the Kiev, Leningrad, Baltic and Turkestan military districts, has changed for the better.

Practice is showing that the majority of meetings are distinguished by deep political content. The problems of the country, the party and the armed forces are at the

center of their attention. A constructive discussion is under way on fulfilling the decisions of the 27th Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and about the fundamental problems of renewal of party life.

A broad discussion about the drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform and the party Charter is being held at the meetings. It reflects all the diverse views and positions that exist in the party and society, and the anxiety of communists about the tension in the socio-political sphere, the crisis phenomena in the economy, inter-ethnic conflicts, separatist tendencies, the growth of crime, and the weakening of discipline and order.

While approving and supporting the pre-congress party documents as a whole, army communists are making many constructive proposals for extending perestroika in the USSR Armed Forces, accelerating military reform, and implementing social programs in the army and navy.

As the meetings are showing, military communists are receiving with satisfaction the Open Letter of the USSR Central Committee, "For Consolidation on a Principled Foundation." Great concern is expressed at virtually all party organizations about the need for uniting all healthy party forces to protect socialist values and oppose decisively those who are conducting a policy to split the party ranks.

At the same time, it was said at the meeting that not all political organs have maintained leadership over the electoral campaign, and over preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress, at the level of the requirements of the February and March 1990 CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the instructions of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. Examples were cited of when individual political organs, party committees and bureaus had still not become the persistent organizers of a frank discussion with communists on the state of party work, on extending its perestroika, and on their attitude toward the drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform and the party Charter, and the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee. Having limited their activity to picking out their representatives, they did not pay the necessary attention to specific assistance in preparing the meetings. All of this impoverished the substantive side of the meetings and conferences, where specific exacting analysis of new approaches in party work, and the contribution of party organizations and communists to improving combat readiness, achieving high qualitative parameters in troop training, and setting personal examples in combat training and military discipline were required.

Not everywhere, it was noted at the conference, did the discussion held at the meetings about the drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform and the party Charter lead to constructive proposals.

Under conditions of the growing political struggle, the state of ideological life of the party organizations, and implementation of the resolution of the bureau of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy,

"On the Work of the Political Directorate and Political Organs of the Odessa Military District to Improve the Vigor of Primary Party Organizations in the Ideological Life of the Military Collectives," are not being discussed keenly and critically everywhere.

Ways of bringing the forms and methods of ideological political work into accord with the real life of the troops, and questions of training communists to conduct a frank, well-reasoned, and open discussion on any topics of interest to the personnel, including those that are acute, are being examined in an oversimplified way.

Not at all meetings and conferences has a principled assessment been heard of the level of political, military and moral education of communists, and of the universal legal training of military personnel, as an important means in the struggle for firm military discipline and regulatory order.

In a number of party organizations, communists are concealing shortcomings and not making constructive proposals to eliminate them. Addressing criticism to the center and to other higher organs, they are poorly analyzing their own reserves and capabilities for solving the tasks that face them.

There are also instances of growing criticism from below of higher echelons for obsolete methods of leadership. At the same time, communists at central organs are criticizing the lower echelons for slowness in restructuring their activity. Such approaches do not contain creative initiatives, and must be eliminated from party practice.

Communists are expressing just dissatisfaction with the far from singular examples of repeated criticism of the very same shortcomings, and with the unprincipled positions of party organizations toward those of their members who are entrusted to correct the state of affairs.

The content of reports and speeches, and analysis of the questions and problems that are being posed at the meetings, indicates that in the primary party organizations party members are inadequately informed about the course of perestroika, and about the measures being taken by the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government, the Ministry of Defense, and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, to carry out the proposals and instructions of communists. Therefore, in a number of cases criticism is heard of problems that have already been solved or are being solved.

It was emphasized at the meeting that a new phenomenon—self-criticism in the form of castigation—is spreading in the current electoral campaign. Some communist leaders, who have compromised themselves by an irresponsible attitude toward the work entrusted to them and deafness to the needs and requests of people, resort to this technique in attempting to escape responsibility before the party organization. Communists do not always give such phenomena the required assessment and rebuff.

The party organizations of the rayon, city, oblast and republic military commissariats are a special sector for the application of party forces, and an area of closest attention of the political directorates of the Armed Services and the military districts and fleets. It is necessary to use the electoral meetings and conferences to strengthen the ties of the political organs, and the party organizations of the military commissariats, with local party organs, and to consolidate their efforts to accomplish unconditionally the plans for callup of young people for military service, and to strengthen the material base and improve the quality of pre-induction training of the future defenders of the homeland.

Constant concern of the political organs for the quality of the electoral conferences of the military educational institutions and the scientific research institutes of the USSR Ministry of Defense is required.

An essential feature of today's reports and elections is the formation of a corps of delegates from the USSR Armed Forces to participate in local party conferences, and congresses of the communist parties of the union republics and the 28th CPSU Congress, directly from the primary party organizations. Discussion and selection of candidates is everywhere taking place with interest and responsibility. It is important that the party conferences be attentive toward examining the proposals of communists.

In the electoral meetings that have taken place, the state of intra-party relations was not everywhere examined self-critically. Here and there relapses of the time of stagnation manifest themselves, the activity of the party committees and bureaus is evaluated according to the number of meetings and sessions, and introduction of democratic forms and methods of intra-party work born of perestroika is weak.

The Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy has required all political organs to analyze thoroughly the results of the electoral meetings in the primary party organizations, to consider their organizational and political lessons, and to hold the party conferences at a high level. It is necessary to examine effectively the remarks and proposals of communists, to implement them in the quickest possible period of time, and to report about this at the party conferences.

It is directed that extensive discussions be organized in all primary party organizations, political organs and party commissions, of the CPSU Central Committee Open Letter to the country's communists, "For Consolidation on a Principled Foundation."

It is required that specific steps be implemented to activate further the all-round discussion of the pre-congress party documents, in a democratic, comradely environment. Without limiting freedom of discussion, and strengthening its constructive foundation, communists are to be helped to disassociate themselves from anti-socialist, anti-party ideological positions, and to

form in the party and military collectives an irreconcilable attitude toward the leaders of factional and dissident tendencies. With respect to those party members who have been confused or been unable to understand the true goals of the organizers of the factional struggle, it is necessary to assess correctly the processes taking place in society and the party, and to display maximum comradely attention, not allowing unjustifiably harsh and hasty decisions.

It is necessary to get to know better the candidates being proposed for deputy to the congresses of the communist parties of the union republics and the 28th CPSU Congress, to give them all-round assistance in realizing their regulatory rights, and to think out a tactic for assisting ideologically convinced, politically active, and morally irreproachable communists.

It is recommended to political organs at all levels that they use more extensively the opportunities of the reports and elections for strengthening ties with local party organs, and those of communist leaders with military personnel and the members of their families. It is necessary to ensure that the military delegates of rayon, city and oblast conferences, and of the congresses of the communist parties of the union republics, take an active position in strengthening the unity of the party on the CPSU Platform.

### **Veterans' Organizations Need Restructuring Into 'United Front'**

90UM0581A Moscow VETERAN in Russian No 20,  
14-20 May 90 p 2

[Article, published under the heading "What Should the Bylaws Be?" by V. Sysoyev, editor-in-chief of the bulletin of the Soviet War Veteran Committee VETERAN VOYNY: "In an United Front"]

[Text] At the Plenum of the All-Union Council held in March, a commission was elected to work out a new wording for the Bylaws of the All-Union Organization of Veterans of the War, Labor and Armed Forces. We will begin by discussing the organizational structure and the nature of activities of the veteran organizations.

Recently, attempts have been made to split the veteran movement. Latvia, for example, has formed a republic Union of Armed Forces Veterans. Recently the creation of such a union was also announced in Moscow. In certain sections of the Soviet War Veterans Committee [SKVV] and in the SKVV itself, voices have been heard to turn it into a Committee of Veterans of the War and Armed Forces with the subsequent withdrawal from the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans. Other proposals have been made in the aim of isolating the older persons in different categories and groups....

There is no doubt about it, under the conditions of perestroika and from our organization, life urgently demands an intensive search for ways to improve the forms and methods of its work. Nor is everything going

smoothly in its structure. For example, only 48 cities have sections of the SKVV. In the remaining, including very large ones such as Gorkiy, Kharkov and Omsk, they are not present at all. There are no war veteran subdivisions in the republic, kray and oblast councils. The Bylaws of the All-Union War and Labor Veterans Organization do not provide for any special structures for the Armed Forces veterans. But we must give some thought and seek out forms which would make it possible for everyone—both the frontline veterans and those who served in the army in peacetime and those who have worked for many years at plants and on the kolkhozes—to act together in an united front. Certainly only with an integrated, close-knit organization which provides an optimum reconciliation of the interests of each veteran category is it possible to successfully solve the problems of our movement.

The people trying to split the organization cannot understand a simple thing and that is we do not have so many "pure" war veterans. These basically are persons from the higher command personnel. But a predominant majority of the frontline veterans, the partisans, the members of the underground, as well as many Army and Navy veterans are simultaneously labor veterans. For example, I am a veteran in three areas: a participant of the war, a veteran of the Armed Forces and recently I received the medal Labor Veteran. There are hundreds of thousands of such people. And whom are we being ordered to join? How can we be split?

Discussions about the differing interests of the frontline veterans, the rear workers and the veterans of the Armed Forces and all the more the clashing of these interests have no grounds beneath them. All the groups and categories of the older generation are interested in one thing and that is handing on to the youth the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Soviet people and arm them with their experience in fighting to strengthen the socialist motherland. The older generation is united in its desire in a just manner and considering the real opportunities of the state to improve the material and everyday situation of the veterans, particularly the less well-off comrades.

A majority of the veterans, no matter with whom you talk, does not support the splitting views as destroying the unity would seriously weaken the veteran movement and reduce its authority both in the nation as well as abroad. In their opinion, the structure of our organization can be improved by further uniting all the categories and groups of elderly persons.

But how can this be done and what steps must be taken? Certain SKVV activists have proposed strengthening the Soviet War Veterans Committee and its sections by drawing on those who served in the Army and Navy in peacetime. But does this make sense?

Of course, the veterans of the Armed Forces precisely like the labor veterans are obliged to act in concert with the frontline veterans. But in my opinion, the SKVV

should be filled out by drawing on the Afghan veterans as well as servicemen who participated in the fighting in Vietnam, Egypt, Korea and other countries where Soviet military aid was provided, that is, by drawing on persons tempered in the fire of war.

But if the Army and Navy veterans are free to join the SKVV, the frontline veterans are dissolved in a mass of people who did not participate in fighting. They will not be seen.

At the same time, the Army and Navy veterans, in contrast to the frontline veterans, are younger people and hence they are more energetic, and the war and labor veteran councils are vitally interested in such new blood and in having these highly educated very experienced persons become members of the leading bodies in the veteran movement.

I see our organization as a monolithic one which brings together in its ranks the veterans of the war, labor and the Armed Forces. It should also have unified bylaws which would reflect and consider the particular features of its different detachments. At present, as is known, we have two bylaws. The practice of recent years has shown that the SKVV can operate successfully, including maintaining international contact on a proper level, in being guided by the provisions of the bylaws of the All-Union Organization.

However, considering the specific features of each veteran category and the nature of their activities, clearly it would be advisable to have within the All-Union Council three equal committees (or sections) with equal powers, namely: a committee (section) for war veterans, a committee (section) for labor veterans and a committee (section) of Armed Forces veterans. In the republic, kray, oblast, city and rayon councils when necessary would also be possible to form similar committees or sections. Our unified organization, I feel, should be named the All-Union Organization for Veterans of the War, Labor and Armed Forces. Or briefly: the All-Union Veterans Organization.

In the aim of maintaining greater work efficiency in its councils, it would be advisable to keep the institution of social commissions and these would show their vitality and utility both in the system of the All-Union Organization as well as in the SKVV. In updating the structure of the All-Union Organization, the commissions should also undergo certain changes. A predominant majority of them would sooner be set up on the level of the All-Union Council while only individual ones with strictly specific functions would exist under the committees and sections.

I feel that we should keep such formations as the councils of war veterans from certain geographic areas, veteran clubs by specific interests, partisan associations, associations for participants in major construction projects and so forth and those which have proven to be viable collectives.

As for the question of setting membership dues for the veteran organization, in my opinion, in the future we should be guided by the provisions of the bylaws adopted at the constituent conference in December 1986. The veterans are united not in terms of a similarity of views and convictions, but in terms of their social status and, having come together, they do not acquire a new quality but rather remain with the previous rights and obligations. Moreover, it is essential to bear in mind that in their majority they are pensioners and many of them are extremely hard-pressed for money. Among them are many persons of advanced age. Both these circumstances undoubtedly would deprive a significant portion of the veterans from belonging to their organization.

The establishing of membership dues naturally would involve a broadening of the staff and would give rise to new layers of bureaucracy. I propose that those who are able and would like to support the organization materially could transfer the appropriate amounts as a voluntary contribution (this is provided by the bylaws) to the credit of one or another veteran organization.

Not a splitting, not a separating, but rather unity—this is the way we must follow.

#### **RSFSR People's Deputies Interviewed Prior to First Congress**

##### **Views of Lt Gen A. Voronin**

*90UM0612A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
17 May 90 First Edition p 1*

[Interview with Lieutenant-General A. Voronin, people's deputy of the RSFSR, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Far East Military District, by Col V. Usoltsev, under the rubric "The Deputy's Rostrum": "With Benefit for Russia"]

[Text] On the eve of the 1st Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR our correspondent met with one of the participants, Lieutenant-General A. Voronin, people's deputy of the RSFSR, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Far East Military District.

[Usoltsev] Aleksandr Ivanovich, the pre-election campaign was not easy for you, primarily because your six rivals for the seat in the Russian parliament included prominent people of the area, representatives of multi-thousand collectives and leaders of so-called informal organizations. You were still successful, however, despite the fact that you are what one would call an apparatchik, in addition to which you wear the general's shoulderboards and your party membership goes back many years. How do you account for that?

[Voronin] I believe it is because the people have still not lost faith in the party, in its wisdom. Furthermore, here in the Far East there still exists the traditional good regard for the army. It is the men in uniform, after all,

who come to the rescue of the people when there is trouble. I have become convinced of this by numerous meetings with workers of the area. My action committee and I visited practically every enterprise and community where I was on the ballot. I visited some enterprises several times because the people work in shifts there.

I cannot say that the meetings were always equally smooth and friendly. I had to argue and convince people and work with them to find solutions to pressing problems. We usually succeeded.

I want to say right off that I promised no one any manna from heaven, because that kind of cheap prestige disgusts me....

[Usoltsev] Perhaps you did not make any promises, but you did do some things for your electors.

[Voronin] It could not have been otherwise. Tell me how one could ignore a problem such as medical services for small, remote communities? Communities, by the way, in which most of the residents are elderly people, including war and labor veterans. After the first visit to one such community in the taiga Maj Gen Med Service R. Madzhanov, district chief of medical services, and I calculated how we could help and what kind of reserves the military medical personnel had for this. Today veterans and children in certain remote settlements have been given medical examinations and received skilled medical aid. This work is continuing.

[Usoltsev] There were no doubt other points of contact between the military and civilian departments, were there not?

[Voronin] Of course. Are we military people any less concerned about ecology than our fellow countrymen outside the army? Or about the repair of roads and bridges?

Bikin urgently needed a new school. The old school had one foot in the grave, as they say. Local authorities did not have the money for its construction, however. The district looked for a way to help build a new secondary school. And construction is now underway. We turned over a former military barracks at one of the garrisons to the local authorities. But we did not stop there. We helped convert the building into a kindergarten, which they did not have.

[Usoltsev] In other words, you have already set about your duties as a people's deputy. How are your relations with the local authorities and the electors developing? Are there difficulties and misunderstandings? Do you hear criticism?

[Voronin] I do, but rarely. The people cannot quite understand the slow pace of the restructuring locally, and people express dissatisfaction with some sessions of the nation's Supreme Soviet. The Far Easterners cannot understand why the party has not purged itself of those members who are compromising it. And this is not just a thirst for blood or a desire to thrash party members. It is rather a desire on the part of the workers to return to the party its role as a real

leader, as a sort of banner of the nation. I heard this in meetings with the railway workers of Bikin, from war and labor veterans of Vyazemskiy and agricultural workers in Rayon imeni Lazo. The people's statements express concern for the fate of the restructuring, a desire to improve the situation in the nation as a whole and in their region, a desire to work to the utmost.

Now that I have been elected a deputy, I can honestly say that I am getting support in my work from the district command element, from my electors and from the local authorities. I encountered instances of prejudice during the preelection campaign, however. And it came not so much from below as from the above, from local leaders.

I shall cite just one example. I attended a rural assembly in Bichevaya, deep in our Far East interior. There were representatives of party and local authorities present. Seeing that most of the people were for the military candidate, Comrade Bolshov, raykom secretary, announced: "Why vote for a general? We'll run a candidate of our own."

It seems that the rayon party leader does not consider the military Communists to be "theirs."

But it is difficult to deceive people today. They have learned how to distinguish lies, hypocrisy and professional incompetence from the truth and sincerity, and are capable of truly altering the situation for the better.

[Usoltsev] Meetings with the people not only expand one's horizon, of course, but also force one to draw certain conclusions.

[Voronin] Unquestionably. It seems to me that I completed a third academy, the people's academy, during the two months of the pre-election campaign. I discovered many new problems for myself, which, as a member of the Russian parliament, I shall try to resolve no matter what. I became further convinced that the best traditions of the Soviet peasantry and proletariat still live in the people, that our people have not forgotten how to work productively. One cannot constrain their initiative, however, not weigh them down with senseless instructions from above.

I have also seen that the people yearn for honest, vital words, for intelligent discussion "as equals." Unfortunately, some of our leaders regard "mixing with the people" as something on the order of a feat....

[Usoltsev] As you prepared to go to Moscow to the 1st Congress of People's Deputies of Russia, you have no doubt thought about the main areas of your work as a deputy....

[Voronin] Of course. The problem of women's labor is one of my priorities. How can a civilized society allow a woman to labor alongside a man. And this is universally done in our society.

I am disturbed by the fact that the school reform is getting nowhere. We must resolve the matter. Here in the Far East it is primarily a matter of an inadequate materials and equipment base. The district command

element is already calculating how our military can help. We have identified some reserves, and I believe we shall find more.

We have already mentioned health protection. I would add to what was said, however, the fact that problems of providing medical services for the population will have to be resolved by combining the capabilities of the departments. It is a matter of the nation's health, after all, and therefore one of the country's future.

It is time to stop the looting of the Far East not just by the central ministries, but also by foreign companies. One cannot view without pain in the heart how our Korean neighbors are chopping down and destroying the taiga. And is Moscow unaware of how high-grade lumber is being shipped from the Far East to Japan and other countries for next to nothing? We seem to have put ourselves into the position of the second-rate states, providing cheap raw materials.

[Usoltsev] Do you intend to bring this up at the congress?

[Voronin] Yes, and I am not alone. We recently held a regional conference of Far East people's deputies, at which we discussed our plan of action and the issues to be raised. They include those you and I have discussed. The representatives of our region are of a mind to do their utmost, taking into account shortcomings in the sessions of the Union parliament. We also figured out which of the region's pressing problems can be resolved locally and which ones should be pushed at the center.

[Usoltsev] The future of our party will also apparently be discussed at the Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR. What do you see as its future?

[Voronin] I am absolutely opposed to factionalism in the CPSU, and I am, of course, in favor of democratic centralism. I am for party unity. Therein lies its strength.

I believe that many problems will arise during the congress which will have to be resolved in order for the restructuring to advance in the republic. In short, there are many issues, and it is by working on them for the greatest possible benefit to the homeland that we need to justify the trust of the electors.

### Views of Col A. Rutskoy

90UM0612B Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA  
in Russian 18 May 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Hero of the Soviet Union Col A.V. Rutskoy: "Colonel A. Rutskoy: If Not We, Then Who?"]

[Text]

### Interview in Georgiyevskiy Hall

There is hardly any need to introduce Hero of the Soviet Union Col Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy to the

readers of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. At one time the newspaper printed a great deal about his epic in Afghanistan. Aleksandr Vladimirovich is presently completing the Genera Staff Military Academy of the Armed Forces of the USSR. He was elected a people's deputy of the RSFSR from the Kursk 52nd National Territorial District.

### Our correspondents interview the deputy.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, what was your mood when you arrived for the 1st Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR?

[Rutskoy] I was in good spirits. I like the serious attitude of most of the deputies and their fervent desire to take the republic out of the political and economic crisis in which it finds itself. There are also many, to be sure, who from the very beginning have tried to divert the congress away from serious, creative work with various secondary proposals and emotional outbursts which I cannot understand. Nonetheless, the congress is moving forward, and the common sense of the vast majority, who are constructively minded deputies, is winning out.

[Correspondent] The next question is probably the most traditional for the beginning of a congress. Nonetheless, what do you expect from the congress? What, in your opinion, can it and must it alter in our life?

[Rutskoy] Yes, we deputies are asked that question very frequently. I am not going to make any predictions, but I am confident that the congress will produce a great deal for the peoples of Russia. We have been able to learn from the mistakes of congresses of people's deputies of the USSR and sessions of the nation's Supreme Soviet. We need to draw certain conclusions from those mistakes. I am convinced that we should resolve all of the problems facing the republic systematically: the issues of Russia's sovereignty, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and others. The most important thing, in my view, is for the congress to promote the establishment of a law-governed state and the enhancement of responsibility in everyone—from the top down and from the bottom up. This responsibility must be secured with legislative enactments, which we are going to have to pass. One other important thing: We have passed a large number of good laws lately, but many of them are not working. Why not? Precisely because the procedure for imposing accountability for their implementation has not been defined.

[Correspondent] The mass media today frequently divide the deputies up into right-wingers, left-wingers and centrists. To what group would you say you belong with respect to political views and convictions?

[Rutskoy] I shall underscore once more that I am a realist by nature and views. I back only common sense, and I do not intend to align myself with any certain grouping. I am a communist, brought up in the traditions of Marxism-Leninism. I will not change. I believe that today, at

such a difficult time for the nation, it is simply inadmissible to dart about the way some people's deputies are doing. A person should be consistent. I personally have more respect for those who, even though holding views opposite to mine, are always principled and consistent.

[Correspondent] When you departed for the congress, what sort of mandate did the electors give you? How did they send you off?

[Rutskoy] Our district is a very large one: 31 rayons and a million electors. I have visited many labor collectives—on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in military units. I hear the same thing everywhere. People demand a halt to the outrages occurring in the country today. I feel that every civilized person should understand that democracy is defined by the bounds of democratically enacted laws. In no case by an anything-goes climate. The First of May demonstration in Moscow demonstrated not democracy but pure licentiousness, an attitude of anything-goes. And it is the opinion of the people with whom I have met, particularly in the labor collectives, that we must work out laws as rapidly as possible which will help to instill order in the country. We are building a humane society, a law-governed state. And socialism itself calls for all these laws. Remember what Nobel said: that any democracy in pure form, not based on laws, ends with power in the hands of the riffraff....

[Correspondent] A fairly large number of people's deputies of the RSFSR, 43, at the congress are military personnel. How do you assess their potential as deputies?

[Rutskoy] We have just organized our representative group. Col Gen K. Kobets, communications chief of the Armed Forces of the USSR and deputy chief of the General Staff, was elected chairman. I am his deputy. I feel that our group will be able to make itself felt at the congress. We are not elected to bide our time. The people's problems are also the army's problems. The problems of the Armed Forces must be resolved within the context of the social and economic problems. And if we people's deputies from the military do not understand them, no one will.

### People's Deputies Interviewed During First RSFSR Congress

#### On Concerns of Military Deputies

90UM0616A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
22 May 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by parliamentary correspondents Captain 1st Rank V. Lukashevich, Lieutenant-Colonel V. Kosarev, and Captain 3d Rank V. Urban under the rubric "The First Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation Continues in Moscow": "What Concerns the Deputies in Uniform"]

#### [Text] Chronicle of the fourth day

"I ask you to stand in the presence of the flag of the Russian Federation"—with these words the chairman began the fourth day of the RSFSR Congress of People's

Deputies. The congress passed the ruling on the presence of the Russian flag on the previous day, 18 May.

On this day the deputies discussed the report of A.V. Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, "On the Social and Economic Situation of the RSFSR." There were 196 people signed up to speak in the debates and the decision was made to give the floor to deputies from the territorial divisions in alphabetical order. By 1500 (of the congress' day), the deputies had "mastered" the alphabet from A to I. Debates will continue on Monday.

The secretariat continued to register deputies groups. On 19 May the following groups declared themselves: "Glasnost" (51 people), "The Union of Workers and Peasants" (72), "The Russian Communists" (260), and a group of nonparty deputies. In all more than 15 groups have been registered.

The RSFSR people's deputies visited the Mausoleum of V.I. Lenin and laid a wreath there.

At the end of the working day A.V. Vlasov gave a briefing. Among the numerous questions of the journalists was the following: "Will you nominate yourself as candidate for the post of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet?" "If I am nominated, I will agree. But I will not nominate myself," answered Aleksander Vladimirovich.

According to the data of the congress press center for 19 May, 643 Soviet journalists from 115 publications and 365 foreign journalists representing 147 publications from 35 countries are reporting on the course of this Russian forum.

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There are 53 people in a group of RSFSR people's deputies which has formed along professional lines—from the USSR Armed Forces and the KGB, and reserve officers. How do they, military people, see their participation in the work of the Russian congress, what kind of instructions have they received from the voters, and what troubles them most of all? Today's deputies answer these question

For some of them this will be their first contact with the readers of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in the role of people's deputies. In the future we will try to give them and other Russian representatives the opportunity to speak.

Colonel V. Kadyshchev, department head at the Ulyanovsk Higher Military Communications Command School imeni G.K. Ordzhonikidze (the 732d Leninskiy territorial electoral district, Ulyanovsk Oblast):

The overwhelming majority of the deputies are deeply concerned about the fate of our republic. And I am glad. But it concerns me that the congress is working unproductively at present. People are getting the opinion that we are wasting time on secondary problems. It seems to me that some of the problems are being introduced as a

vehicle for specific individuals in order to satisfy the political ambitions of certain people. But I believe in the success of the congress and that common sense will nonetheless triumph.

I am preparing to speak at the congress and address problems that are particularly troublesome for us. My constituency and I are troubled by the fate of our region and the fate of the Volga. And considering that I am a military man, of course I will not avoid the issue of increasing the social protections for my colleagues and the members of their families. The housing situation in our garrison is very bad—there are 590 servicemen without quarters. Even after two or three years Afghanistan veterans have not received apartments. As they saw me off, my comrades commissioned me to say something about this at the congress.

And the issue of military men elected to soviet organs has not yet been completely worked out. For instance an officer from our school, an instructor, was elected deputy chairman of the city soviet and still does not know what will happen to him, where he will get his money from, etc. We need some kind of special legal position which will answer all these questions.

Rear Admiral R. Chebotarevskiy (511th Kolskiy territorial district, Murmansk Oblast):

I have two impressions of the congress. The procedural questions are clearly dragging on. The open attempts of some people's deputies to seize power at the congress, having put the position of the existing Russian Constitution in doubt, are depressing, as was the prank—I cannot find another word for it—of the group of deputies who left the hall during discussion of one of the questions. That is to say that those very opposite forces which we talked about in the lobby of the congress have now clearly revealed themselves. And they will probably determine the further course of the congress.

And nonetheless an absolute majority of the deputies are intent on serious work and I believe that they will do everything to ensure that the congress makes the decisions which will lead the republic from its economic and political crisis. My constituency—the workers of the Kolskiy Peninsula, miners of the polar regions, kolkhoz ((collective farm)) farmers, and sailors—is also hoping for this.

Colonel General V. Achalov, commander of airborne troops (708th Yefremovskiy territorial electoral district, Tula Oblast):

What are my goals at the congress? They are synonymous with the powers of deputy given me by my constituents and the commissions they have given me. I will pick out only the fundamental problems.

First, the development of the countryside. In my district I have two agricultural rayons, that is to say devastated villages, impassible roads, and an absence of any kind of civilization. There are no youths—they have run away

from there. Previous measures were halfhearted, and they did not bring the countryside anything. We need a new concept for developing the Russian village. As you know, the congress will be deciding this issue.

Second, ecology. Visit the city of Yefremov. A chemical machine-building factory has been functioning there for several years. It sends its products everywhere, but it has no purification works. And how many instances of that, even if they are only local ones, are there in Russia? We should concern ourselves with the health of the nation and the health of the future generation. And this is how I see the problem—and only this way. We must look much deeper into it. We will cure many illnesses if Russia becomes genuinely sovereign and economically independent.

And a third problem. One might say that it is already on a union scale. It is the preparation for the callup into the Army. It has become a reality that the country's defense capability is maintained in Russia alone. Negative tendencies in a number of the republics have reached the point that the youth openly refuse to serve. It seems that only the Russian man can do everything and is obligated to do everything. I believe that there is something to think about here for the deputies.

Major Yu. Litvinov (Sverdlovskiy 457th territorial electoral district, Kostroma Oblast):

The greatest problem for my region is supplying the population with food products. Just yesterday a woman telephoned: "What are you arguing about at the congress? Back here there are only some air mattresses in our stores, and you waste time on questions that have nothing to do with life and the people's needs." And she is right. The congress has been underway four days, and what have we done? For the most part we are hanging up on procedural issues.

I listened to a debate on the report of A.V. Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. And again there were very many general words. The people are waiting for us to develop some kind of constructive way to get out of the crisis situation. Take our Kostroma Oblast again. It will not solve all its problems independently, even the food problem. Nor will other regions. So we must figure out what to do together. I have spoken with many military deputies—almost all of them think as I do. I hope that they will give us, the representatives of the Armed Forces, the opportunity to speak at the congress. We have something to say.

Colonel V. Seleznev, deputy head of the department of Marxism-Leninism at the Chelyabinsk Higher Military Motor Transport Engineering School (742d Kalininskiy territorial district, Chelyabinsk Oblast):

I believe that we will succeed in developing a new mechanism for government by the people in Russia. One of the deputies who has already spoken sees this complex process rather one-sidedly: He sees it as the identification of our congress with the future Supreme Soviet of

the RSFSR Federation. We must examine the entire system of our power, from the settlement and rural soviets to the Supreme Soviet, and clearly define their competence, rights and responsibility.

Discussions about sovereignty and government by the people will determine once and for all the positions of the deputies regarding candidacies for the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Currently four of them are being examined—Vlasov, Yeltsin, Manayenkov, and Polozkov. All of the candidates should take the floor. Otherwise they lose any chance. In the meantime none of them should be counted out.

And finally, we need to elect a strong parliament. For that I believe that we need to hear out all the deputy groups. I personally belong to the "Russian Communists" group, and I was elected its co-chairman. Currently we are working out and strengthening our positions on all the issues on the agenda.

### On Sovereignty of Russia

90UM0616B Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA  
in Russian 23 May 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by parliamentary correspondents Captain 1st Rank V. Lukashevich, Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev, and Captain 3d Rank V. Urban under the rubric "The First Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation Continues in Moscow": "Russian Sovereignty: Interviews With the Military Deputies"]

#### [Text] Chronicle of the fifth day

The deputies continued a second day of discussions on the report of A.V. Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, "On the Social and Economic Situation of the RSFSR." Speeches were given by 25 people. Debate on the report will be continued on Tuesday.

RSFSR people's deputies made the decision to collect money (R50 each) for a fund to aid refugees from the Transcaucasus.

The deputies group "Russian Communists" circulated an appeal to all the RSFSR people's deputies participating in the first congress. "Over our congress' first four days," it says, "the tendency for artificial agitation of political passions and for the collision of group ambitions has appeared. All of Russia follows our work with bewilderment... We appeal for the work of the congress to be carried out in a constructive atmosphere..., and for the resources of the communists (and there are almost 900 of them at the congress—Author) to be used to consolidate all the deputies who understand the hopelessness of confrontation for confrontation's sake or for the realization of a group's political ambitions." "Russian Communists" called upon all the deputies to acknowledge their obligations to their constituencies and justify the faith of the Russians.

The birthday of the late academician A.D. Sakharov was on 21 May. The Russian deputies visited the Vostryakovskiy cemetery and laid a wreath on the grave of the famous scholar and public figure.

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We continue to acquaint you [see the previous issue] with the military people's deputies of Russia. This time we asked them to give their view on RSFSR sovereignty inasmuch as Deputy V.I. Vorotnikov gave the report "On RSFSR Sovereignty and a New Union Treaty and Mechanism for Government by the People in the Republic" after the discussion of A.V. Vlasov's report concluded on Tuesday.

**Sovereignty, autonomy, and Russian independence—these are the most popular words today among the deputies. And what do the representatives of the Army and the Navy think about this?**

Colonel General D. Volkogonov, head of the Institute of Military History of the USSR Ministry of Defense (60th Orenburgskiy national territorial district, Orenburg Oblast):

I believe that the central question at the congress is the issue of the republic's sovereignty. Why is it the central question? If there is a strong, sovereign Russia, then we can halt the tragic tendency toward the disintegration of the great Union. Russia could become the most important element of a new Union of free republics and of an original community of a new type. A strong, sovereign Russia is also the hope for maintaining a socialist choice. I am deeply convinced that although we have sustained a major, historic reverse, socialism has a chance. It has a chance!

And finally a strong, sovereign Russia will allow us to save the long-awaited renewal which is now in deep crisis. It has begun to slip in fundamental ways. For some reason certain people connect sovereignty only with an opportunity to secede from the Union. This is a one-sided understanding of things. Right from the start we must examine the fate of the republic's economic, social, and cultural ties. "Secession"—it is impossible to emigrate to another continent. It is for us to live together. Russian sovereignty is an opportunity for people to determine their own fate and not be an appendage, a prop, a donor, and a reservoir for the center.

But I think that we ourselves are erecting a very complicated structure on the road to sovereignty. Last year at the final session of the old Supreme Soviet, of which I was a deputy, I spoke out against congresses of people's deputies (at both the republic and national levels). No one has them. We only need a strong, efficient Supreme Soviet. Our parliamentary organ—the congress—slows down the development of laws and engenders illusions. After preparation in the Supreme Soviet, many laws will have a long wait for the next congress, where the endless

rally-like discussions will again continue. I am convinced, and I am rarely mistaken in my political predictions, that the congress-Supreme Soviet system is short-lived and will be examined in the future.

Major S. Glotov, instructor at the Krasnodarskiy Higher Military Missile Forces Command and Engineering School (163d Leninskiy territorial district, Krasnodar Kray):

The deputies have in their hands two drafts of documents on the proclamation of Russian sovereignty. One was introduced by "Democratic Russia," and the other by a group of Siberian deputies. They have some interesting proposals, but there are also some that are, in my opinion, quite questionable. But I wish to speak about something else. I would immediately change the name of the document and emphasize that sovereignty should be implemented within the limits of the USSR. This must be clearly pointed out. On 19 May I took the floor and said that the deputies should be given the USSR laws which consolidate relations between the center and the republics. Today this has occurred. It is so that my colleagues can see that the "Democratic Russia" draft runs contrary to Union legislation on certain positions. I am convinced that we, Russian deputies, should affirm the priority of Union legislation.

And further, I believe that we should raise the question of introducing a presidential form of administration to the republic. I am not revealing any secrets when I say that my constituency also holds this opinion.

Captain First Rank A. Chaykovskiy, head of an administrative department of the USSR KGB in Kaliningrad Oblast (41st Kaliningradskiy national territorial district):

Russian sovereignty within the limits of the USSR—this is my position. It seems to me that in the draft bills which have been distributed at the congress regarding this question there is a great tendency to make pronouncements for effect. I say this as a jurist. So there is significant work to be done at the legislative level. And we should not be in a hurry. For example: The republic's economic sovereignty is either examined very weakly or not foreseen. And I believe that it is fundamental. What is needed is to transfer the Russian Federation to world prices and to a true economy in its relations with other republics. It will finally allow us to stop making claims upon each other.

Some deputies, so far as I know, are speaking in favor of giving the functions of external economic activities to Russian organs. Here too there are many problems. I believe that this is inadvisable in that it will weaken the unity of the republics. Like questions of defense and state security, it should be left to the Union. You see how many problems have not been considered, and they are in need of a serious legislative effort.

Guards Colonel G. Sorokin (665th Verkhnesaldinskiy territorial electoral district, the city of Nizhniy Tagil in Sverdlovsk Oblast):

In my opinion the discussion following the report of the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers was overwhelmed by people's accounts of past activities. There were very few constructive proposals which could serve as a basic program for leading the republic from the crisis.

We, the military deputies, like all Russians, are worried about the problems connected with Russian sovereignty. First and foremost I have in mind its economic sovereignty. That which it produces and earns should serve its economic development. Of course the RSFSR functions within the framework of a federation, the Union. And we must maintain the Armed Forces, which require significant funds. We must also solve other Union tasks. But all of this should take place within reasonable limits. No less important is the political sense of the republic's sovereignty, which also must be guaranteed legislatively. We must create the system of administrative organs which is characteristic of each state formation.

I would also like to emphasize the issues of military construction—the congress must not under any circumstance avoid them. If only because the majority of servicemen, and this is not a secret, are residents of our republic.

Yesterday as I returned from the Kremlin I met refugees from Azerbaijan near the "Rossiya" hotel. There were children 10-12 years old among them—children of the families of servicemen. It was an unbearable sight. We must resolve this problem as quickly as possible, we must defend our enlisted men, warrant officers, and officers, performing service beyond the borders of the RSFSR, and we must defend their families.

### On Soviet Armed Forces

90UM0616C Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA  
in Russian 24 May 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by parliamentary correspondents Captain 1st Rank V. Lukashevich, Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev, and Captain 3d Rank V. Urban under the rubric "The First Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation Continues in Moscow": "The Army in Russia: Interviews in Georgiyevskiy Hall"]

### [Text] Chronicle of the sixth day

Although there had been a proposal to continue discussing the report of the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers on Tuesday, the deputies voted to halt the debates. A resolution on the report will be passed later.

A.V. Vlasov, who gave the report, received 136 questions. He spent an entire hour answering them. Among others there were the following: "Why does the Russian government not have a program for conversion?" "Yes,

this is a serious oversight. Such a program will be set up as soon as possible." "The report does not talk about social protections for servicemen." "We must apologize to the servicemen for having occupied ourselves with these issues so poorly. We must re-examine this issue."

V.I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet presidium, gave the report "On RSFSR Sovereignty and a New Union Treaty and Mechanism for Government by the People in the Republic." Discussion on it began after lunch.

At the evening session the decision was made to form a commission on refugees. The deputies were informed that more than 90,000 refugees have come to the Russian Federation's 62 autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts since the beginning of the year in connection with the exacerbation of interethnic relations.

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**Georgiyevskiy Hall is the most austere and beautiful in the Great Kremlin Palace. This is where important foreign guests meet, and here state awards are handed to the country's illustrious citizens. Georgiyevskiy Hall is a hall of military fame.**

**It is no surprise that in this hall, which is full of people during any break between meetings of the congress, we talked about the Soviet Army.**

Fedor Polenov, director of the State Museum and Preserve of V.D. Polenov:

The theme of the conversation is very dear to me. You might say that in our family there are two branches—artists and military men. I also consider myself a regular officer, a Navy officer, although I have not been in the Armed Forces for 30 years. My naval education and service aboard a ship have made their imprint on my life and on my opinions.

As a result you can predict what I think about the problem of our sovereignty and defense. Of course much depends on what sort of document the congress adopts. I believe that as soon as we start talking about state sovereignty, it must either be complete or it will not exist at all. That means that Russia has the right, just as it did historically, to have its own Army and its own Navy. Other solutions are also possible, I do not deny, but my own opinion is set.

We, the cultural workers, have here the broadest opportunity to apply our forces. I will only explain briefly, but your readers will understand. I am speaking of educating the officer ranks with a deeply humanitarian education along with the specialized one, and of restoring presently forgotten traditions of the Russian officer. The Russian parliament will be adopting a law on culture—a draft is already being prepared. It should provide for direct ties between culture and the military. I am in favor of this. And I believe it will receive the support of the deputies in uniform.

Nikolay Laptev, chairman of the "Pobeda" collective farm in Baykalovskiy Rayon:

Today we are convinced that the problems of the Armed Forces are extremely complicated. But we must solve them at any price.

Yes, the size of the Army is currently being reduced. Tens of thousands of people will soon be joining and are already joining the national economy: Former officers and warrant officers. We, the people's deputies—authorized representatives of the Soviet power—must see to it that these people and their families receive everything they need—housing and work—and that they receive social security.

But we must always think about how to make the Army still stronger while reducing it. And this also depends on human factors and on concern for people—the soldiers, warrant officers, and officers. I myself am a reserve captain. I served after graduating from the institute and I know the difficult conditions our forces endure when they serve.

Erdem Tsybikzhapov, deputy chairman of the Central Spiritual Administration of USSR Buddhists:

When we speak about the Army, we must always keep in mind the goals we are pursuing as we create and equip it. Religion teaches that the earth is a unity and that the water we drink and the air we breathe also unites all of us. The essence of this is that we are all representatives of a single human family. And the borders which have always divided people are increasingly disappearing today. But that hardly means that the Army is not necessary.

As a representative of the Buddhist religion, I believe that if there is a question of the defense of my Homeland, my mother, my family and friends, and my people, if there is a threat to them, then there is only one answer—they must be defended. But today we increasingly recognize that enemies, as we understood them previously, are becoming fewer. We also recognize that the feeling of enmity comes from within man himself.

Our believers, representatives of Buddhism, serve in the Army on a par with all Soviet citizens—their religion does not prevent them from serving because freedom is not simply that which you want to do. Freedom is not possible without responsibility and without observing the laws of the country in which you live. This is the way we understand it. I myself was a soldier for two years and served in Mongolia.

Oleg Basilashvili, actor with the Leningrad Academic Bolshoy Drama Theater imeni M. Gorkiy:

The Russian Congress of People's Deputies is treating the problems of the Armed Forces rather casually right now. My personal opinion is that we need to re-examine the positions upon which our military doctrine stands. Yes, we know that it has a defensive character. But in connection with the decrease of tension in the world and

with the great successes of Soviet diplomacy in the international arena, we must reduce the Armed Forces even further and examine the question of their further professionalization.

When I express my opinion on this, some of our major military commanders frequently say, "Are we really so unprofessional?" They themselves are professional, of course, but each soldier should also be a professional in the sense that he should use his combat equipment and weapons professionally and receive a pay that is appropriate. You will agree that as a social unit the soldier has practically no protections.

All the problems of the Armed Forces are right in front of us. They are no longer secret, and one does not have to be a military specialist to see them. I often toured with concerts, free professional concerts, to military units and remote garrisons and saw that the servicemen often lived in very difficult circumstances. I was even surprised at how they accepted things. Apparently a feeling of duty and their oath keep them in place. It seems to me that we need to look at all of these issues.

Viktor Sheynis, doctor of economic sciences, chief scientific associate of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

I believe that this question should be discussed in a more general framework. The new thinking is developing most successfully and is one of the achievements of our state policy as such. Currently there is no reason for aggravating the international situation. A general tendency toward reasonable sufficiency in defense is perceived and is developing in the world. This should be our point of departure. That is to say that we should and we will, to all appearances, implement new reductions in arms and armed forces.

What is our Army to be? In the long run I believe that it will be a professional one. That is the principal issue. The basic directions of our defense policy, in my opinion, should be reflected in a Declaration of Sovereignty and in other documents which will expand upon the declaration. But none of this is in the draft documents.

#### **GlavPUR Begins 'Experiment' in New Combat, Political Training**

*90UM0762A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 3*

[Article by V. Yuzbashev: "GlavPUR Has Started an Experiment"]

[Text] Starting with the second half of the year a new period of combat and political training has gotten underway within the Soviet Armed Forces. Big changes have taken place in the content of this training. What is the essence of these changes? The Chief of the Department of Social Sciences of the Main Political Directorate

of the Soviet Army and Navy, Doctor of Economic Sciences Colonel N. Karasev, spoke with our correspondent about this.

[Karasev] The idea of the new fields of study is to get away from dogmatic approaches in the training and to bring the disciplines being studied closer to the lives, needs and interests of the officer, warrant officer, sergeant and soldier. The new methodology has been introduced as an experiment in eight regiments and divisions of the Belorussian, Odessa and Moscow military districts and on several ships of the Northern Fleet.

And what is the content of the training? In place of the course on Marxism-Leninism, which often had been reduced to a repetition of theoretical postulates, we will have a cycle of studies devoted to the topical problems of the work practices of the officer and to perestroika in the Army and Navy. Another course, and this is a completely new trend, is devoted to the general culture of the officer and his ability to maintain good relations within a multinational military collective and to know how to conduct himself in society and within his family. A third course is devoted to the study of history and traditions, the combat experience of the Russian and Soviet armies, starting with the *druzhinas* of Aleksandr Nevsky and the regiments of Dmitriy Donskoy. In the structure of the different sections we include the problems of the officer's mastering the essentials of social psychology and pedagogical experience.

The experiment will be taking place during the period from July through December. Sociological research will look at the final results. If the experiment is considered a success, the year 1991 will be the beginning of a new course of study in other subunits and on other ships.

#### **Officers Debate Military Reform**

*90UM0860A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Aug 90 First Edition p 2*

[Lieutenant-Colonel O. Vladykin, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA News Correspondent, Chairs KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Round Table: "Military Reform: What the Professionals Are Thinking"]

[Text] One might say that this large military collective is made up of professionals inasmuch as it is basically staffed with officers and warrant officers. For this reason we were tempted by the proposal of the unit party committee secretary, Major Kleshchevnikov, to participate in a discussion of the prospects for military reform.

[Vladykin] In discussions regarding military reform many are of the opinion that our armed forces must be made up of only professionals. I would like to know how you yourselves feel about this today?

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Setsko] It would not be totally correct to consider everyone serving in our unit to be one hundred percent professionals. One assumes that a true professional not only volunteers to serve but also chooses his own specialty and after the appropriate training is assigned to a position according to his education. In other words, he is fully qualified to assume the responsibilities that are placed upon him.

Ideally, this is how it should be in our unit. But the military schools often send us young officers who are only vaguely familiar with the equipment that they are to maintain. Sometimes it takes as many as two years for the novice to master everything that he must know.

[Vladykin] In other words you support the idea of a narrower officer specialization so that after completing school he is prepared to operate quite specific equipment systems and weapons?

[Setsko] If we want an army that is made up of true professionals, then that is the only way to achieve that end.

[Senior Lieutenant S. Gavrilov] In general, professionalism is a somewhat broader concept. And the qualities inherent in a professional must set each of us apart regardless of years in service, rank or position held. For example, shouldn't each captain who is doing an outstanding job become an equally outstanding major? Any of us who have reached a new rung in the military service career ladder can feel out of place. In my opinion it is necessary to establish a procedure for career development which would permit each officer to determine his own ceiling for career advancement. With the stipulation that his striving for professional development is motivated in accordance with the business, intellectual and organizational capabilities of the man.

Let the captain who has mastered his job receive for his good work an amount of money that is greater than that of the lieutenant colonel who is not meeting the highest requirements for his assigned duties. Then only certain officers will wish to be promoted without being firmly convinced that they can handle the new work load.

[Vladykin] But then promotion will cease to be a motivating factor. After all it is less stressful to do a smaller amount of work for a decent wage than to load yourself up with additional work and to take the risk that you won't be able to meet the higher requirements.

[S. Gavrilov] This is the primary motivating factor in an officer's critical self evaluation of his own potential. Resolve the dilemma: either take advantage of your deserved authority and material prosperity for your competence at a solid, professional level, or, "having gotten off to a fast start" on the career ladder, pay the price for one or the other for extreme self-sufficiency. I am convinced that this system would provide opportunities for truly capable people and sharply moderate the career-based pretensions of mediocre people. If, of

course, the difference between the minimal and maximum rates of virtually all pay grades is very substantial. It should, for example, amount to one half of the maximum pay rate.

[Lieutenant S. Gushchakov] Yes, incentives should not be a laughing matter as was the case with the recently established pay for raising a classification category. Who in the world will put themselves out to seek job mastery if all of their enormous efforts and many years of trying to do their best only adds a few measly kopeks to their salary? At the root it is necessary to change the criteria for evaluating the skill level of specialists and the associated pay system. And to implement mandatory tests when advancing to new responsibilities after establishing for each of them a wage scale. What is more there should be a sufficient number of wage steps, say at least ten. Then a captain, who has the highest pay grade for job assignment and who has passed an examination as an applicant for a vacancy in a position for a major but has been given only a fourth or fifth level pay grade in connection with the increased demands that are placed upon him, has to seriously consider if it is in his best interest to take the promotion?

[Major V. Ilyushchenkov] One cannot reduce everything to money. For an officer service-related growth has always and will always be of enormous importance. Here in our unit, for example, the majority will advance only to the rank of major. Then people begin to look around to see where they can find a job for a lieutenant colonel; eventually they find such a position and they leave us. But they should be able to advance here without going anywhere. And so it makes more sense to establish a rule that says that regardless of the job held an officer can be given the next grade, let us say, upon the completion of two terms of service in the previous grade.

[Captain N. Kurtyak] And isn't it because today an increase in responsibilities and rank is almost the only way for an officer to receive self-approval that we observe the familiar phenomenon, that is well known to all. The greater the number of meetings, sessions, and conferences the less concreteness and productivity can be seen in the solutions to various problems having to do with ensuring the combat readiness and service of the troops? In my opinion this is taking place because of an obvious shortage of competent personnel, who have an especially great need of competence. Many colonels who have moved through the ranks, so to speak, do not know how to accumulate and effectively put to use those sensible ideas that come from "below." Because of this they impede the implementation of such ideas.

[Captain S. Yurev] We are forgetting about the warrant officers. After all, the majority of them are specialists and much depends upon them in solving assigned tasks. But while the officer today has some prospects for career advancement connected with how well he carries out the responsibilities that are placed upon him, the warrant officer does not have such prospects. Perhaps within-grade pay increases should not be given automatically to

warrant officers when assigned to a particular position, as is the case at present, but only after the skill-level tests. For example, tests could be held every year in the course of the end-of-year check-up. In general, any military serviceman, be he a soldier, warrant officer, officer, or general, must in a mandatory procedure regularly pass tests to indicate a level of professionalism. If you increase your pay-grade, or as we say today your class level, you receive a substantial additional sum of money; if you decrease your pay-grade, you lose money. Also, one cannot disregard a factor such as the prestige of the specialist. A decrease or increase in pay-grade and the accompanying changes in salary will depend directly upon the authority of the military serviceman. You will find few people who are indifferent to how their professional mastery is assessed.

[Major V. Soldatenkov] I see that there are those who will want to reproach us: they will ask where we are going to find the money to compel each person to serve to their full capability? I believe that our army can be totally and highly professionalized, if we carefully redistribute the funds that are presently allocated to the army. For example, to finance each planned task. The sum of money allocated will provide for the monetary maintenance of the military servicemen who are carrying out the task. Even today such a method would make it possible to sharply reduce the number of officers in many units or to replace them with warrant officers or with professional soldiers, of course. It will become disadvantageous to give relatively simple responsibilities to highly trained specialists and to maintain them as a surplus. Commanders and chiefs themselves will begin to identify unneeded organic elements and to get rid of them. And then, using the funds that are allocated, it will be possible to significantly increase the pay of those who remain. This will solve two problems immediately: the reduction of personnel, a problem that the cadre organs have been struggling with recently; and increasing the material prosperity of military servicemen.

[Vladykin] Put succinctly, you are proposing something like cost accounting for the military?

[V. Soldatenkov] Perhaps. It is true that there is a need for mechanisms for objectively evaluating the quality of the tasks that are being carried out and a system of heavy penalties for their disruptions. So that it would be disadvantageous to abuse the redistribution of assets for a too narrow circle of specialists.

[Vladykin] Obviously, this would be suitable for a unit such as yours. But what about a motorized rifle regiment?

[Soldatenkov] Of course, all of this would have to be well thought out. But we should not forget that the amount of complicated weapons systems and fighting equipment will increase in all branches of the military. Such a system for paying personnel is recommended for their maintenance. After all for some time during the draft call-ups we have had to carry out assigned tasks with

teams and crews that have been reduced in size, within compressed time periods and with an overextension of norms. But we have depended only upon the enthusiasm of people; they have not been motivated by material things. And incentives can be created without any additional expenditures.

[Major A. Glazachev] The effectiveness of the labor of each military serviceman can, in my opinion, can be increased by other means besides material motivation. Free him of concerns that are not directly job-related and let him concentrate entirely on his primary mission.

[Vladykin] What do you have in mind?

[Glazachev] For example, in our unit, which is almost totally staffed with cadre military servicemen who, as we say now, are professionals, the party organization actually has developed along with the command structures. Together they perform administrative functions. For this reason there are no tasks which our officers and warrant officers would struggle to perform without the influence of the party. And we are forced to duplicate job-related meetings at our party meetings. For what purpose? Who needs to have everything complicated?

[Lieutenant-Colonel A. Abrosimov] If we eventually achieve a totally professional army, we will have to free ourselves of all of its burdensome structures. And, at the same time, assets for a great deal will be found.

Go down into those terrible underground caves where our equipment is installed and where we carry out our combat mission. And then take a stroll among the endless offices of the main and central directorates and see how splendidly they are set up. And then try to explain why people engaged in operational readiness duty which provides directly for the defense of the country are working in the worse conditions.

#### **AUCCTU Aide on Efforts To Unionize Servicemen**

90SV0076A Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with Gennadiy Sergeyevich Bashtanyuk, organizing committee chairman and VTsSPS secretary, by V. Badurkin: "Working Organ or Staff Structure? Who Will Say 'No' to the Ministry of Defense"]

[Text] TRUD has repeatedly written about the illegal situation in which Army and Navy trade union organizations find themselves. About the diktat of military regulations over social protection of people without shoulder boards in units and at Ministry of Defense enterprises. About attempts of officers-leaders to structure relations with members of trade unions who are subordinate to them from the position of force and the order.

More than two months ago, an organizing committee to prepare and conduct a congress of Soviet Army and Navy workers and employees trade union organizations was formed by a VTsSPS [All-Union Central Trade

Union Council] Secretariat decision. Its primary goal is to create an organ capable of defending the interests of the working man in all structures of the Army hierarchy.

Is the future united trade union organ capable of this task? Our conversation with G. Bashtanyuk, organizing committee chairman and VTSPS secretary, began with this question.

[Bashtanyuk] I am certain of it. Or what sense does it make to "stir up trouble." Of course, quite a bit will depend on the specific people who undertake this cause. But the situation is such that it is impossible to delay the solution of this issue. As they say, the people at the bottom do not want to live in the old way. Judge for yourself.

The USSR Ministry of Defense, centralized from top to bottom, and its relations with trade unions are structured on the, normal for it, command administrative foundation. Is it really not a paradox that up till now there has been no all-union trade union organ that is concerned about this sector's workers at the Ministry of Defense level. There is also no such structure in the largest branch of the Armed Forces—the Ground Forces. There is simply no one to defend workers and employees interests.

[Badurkin] It is no secret that the VTSPS is experiencing far from the best times right now. Is the establishment of trade unions in the Ministry of Defense system an attempt to impart the opinion of the staff as the desire of the "rank and file" and at the same time also resolve issues of job placement that it turns out staff workers do not like? Other than the Ground Forces, all the remaining branches of the Armed Forces have long had their own independent trade union structure.

[Bashtanyuk] Actually, many troops have their own trade union representatives within the framework of the appropriate branch trade unions. Many years experience have confirmed their viability and necessity. For example, construction of 21 Pioneer camps and 24 health care institutions are under trade union control within the system of the association of military and specialized construction organizations. In 1989, living conditions for nearly 11,000 workers and employees families were improved in organizations that are under their professional servicing. And this is not the only example. I want to stress that we will not destroy this structure. It must be preserved. Furthermore, establishment of its own trade union structure in the Ground Forces is among the organizing committee's primary tasks at the present time.

As for the second part of your question, we are proceeding based on the interests not of the VTSPS staff but on those of leading trade union organizations. In the Armed Forces, we have noted the substitution of their goals with tasks set forth in the commander's directives

and orders. Many unresolved problems have accumulated on standardization and payment of labor, its protection, and supply of special clothing in military organizations.... However, not one unit commander has undertaken the resolution of these issues without the appropriate order from above. That is why many leading trade union organization chairmen's letters reflect the certainty that we need an equal trade union organ for our centralized Armed Forces structure that acts as a constructive opponent to the Ministry of Defense leadership in the resolution of social issues.

As for the cadres who must head this work, this is the prerogative of the founding congress.

[Badurkin] Gennadiy Sergeyevich, judging by the letters, not everyone approves of the establishment of the Federation of Trade Unions within the USSR Ministry of Defense SYSTEM while noting at the same time that tying the trade union organ to the department will also result in planting command-administrative work methods in it....

[Bashtanyuk] We took this into account. You probably noted that the organizing committee's appeal talks about the establishment of a single Army and Navy workers and employees trade union. This proposal did not receive widespread support. Many people justly note that such a trade union could end up dependent on state administrative organs and on political and other social organizations.

Right now we are convinced that the USSR Armed Forces workers and employees trade union federation is the most acceptable, that is, a social formation that unites, on a voluntary basis, professional unions of workers and employees who are engaged in all branches of the Armed Forces and trade union organizations that are on the same footing with them.

I want to once again stress: We advocate that existing and established structures have complete independence when deciding issues of their internal activities, including controlling an independent trade union budget and the state social security budget.

[Badurkin] Will the new federation turn out to be so "amorphous" that it will be impossible to control it? Will a single charter be adopted that provides for procedures to enter and leave the Federation?

[Bashtanyuk] The congress is the Federation's highest council and only it can answer these questions. The organizing committee only has the right to introduce a draft federation charter for its review. Right now it has been prepared and sent to leading trade union organizations of the branches and component services of the Armed Forces for study. Such principles are set forth in it like voluntary entry into the federation and free departure from it, equal rights of federation members and their independence in organizational and financial activities, collectiveness and glasnost in the work of the federation's ruling organs, their accountability to

member organizations, and respect of minority opinions and its rights to explain its positions, including through mass media organs.

[Badurkin] As we all know, principles can be declared but a reliable mechanism needs to be created for their realization....

[Bashtanyuk] We think that the election of the Federation Central Council (TsSF) according to the principle of a direct delegation and equal representation from member organizations and the right of these organizations to recall and replace their own representatives will also become a guarantee of this mechanism's effectiveness. The fact that the Federation Central Council will form an Executive Committee in which each member organization delegates one of its own representatives will promote this. We propose the election of the Federation chairman and his deputy at the congress. As for the Executive Committee staff, obviously we cannot get by without it. However, it must consist not of those who only know how to "look after" but of specialists capable of rendering practical assistance to leading trade union organizations and acting in the role of consultants and experts. Only such people are capable of developing an agreement with the country's Ministry of Defense that takes into account the opinions and proposals of Federation member organizations and which stipulates observance of social justice for workers and employees in wages, assignment of housing, retraining as a result of the conversion of military production, and employment....

[Badurkin] Tell me, will some type of Federation structure and staff be established locally?

[Bashtanyuk] Right now, the process of forming a full-fledged Ground Forces support trade union organ is occurring in each military district. Naturally it must have a staff of workers similar to that which any middle level branch trade union committee has.

We consider it advisable to form trade union committee representative councils in garrisons whose members must enjoy equal rights and act in the name of their own organizations and defend their interests.

In the organizing committee's opinion, these councils could assume the functions for coordinating interrelations of the Federation with local territorial branches of inter-union trade union organs through conclusion of mutually beneficial agreements on cooperation.

The desire to use strong-will tactics to unite all Army and Navy trade union structures operating on its territory into a single military district organization is frequently being manifested locally. This is incorrect. I want to point out that the 8th VTsSPS Plenum supported the proposal on the right of leading trade union organizations themselves to determine their trade union affiliation and their own higher organ. So, there cannot be any type of pressure on member organizations here.

[Badurkin] And the last question. How will Federation interrelations with Army political organs be structured?

[Bashtanyuk] Only on an equal basis. Trade unions and political organs have different functions. Each must be engaged in its own business which of course does not exclude cooperation.

### First Congress of Soldiers' Mothers Meets

90SV0076B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 90  
Morning Edition p 4

[Article by V. Nikolayeva and L. Savelyeva, Moscow: "There Are no Sons of Other People: Notes from the 1st All-Union Congress of Soldiers' Mothers"]

[Text] And once again this painful topic. Maybe some people are already rather tired of it: How many times just during the last year has it sounded from the highest rostrums and we have seen it slammed shut and hammered in by the applause of those people's deputies who spoke about those things when it is preferable and customary to be silent.

You do not slam the door on mothers of soldiers who died or were crippled in the Army. And they, having arrived in Moscow for their first All-Union Congress from the entire country, have named all of those same painful points of the Army: Anti-democratic procedures, blunt arbitrariness, dedovshchina [hazing of conscripts] that has reached unlimited prison scale, and as a solution—the need for urgent reform.

Each mother has her own path at this congress and it has passed through grief which is now eternal. Until this meeting each mother had just her own grief and now it is one [grief] for all. Many of them had photographs on their chests—a picture that is so customary for us during traditional meetings of those who fought at the front. But we have lived for 45 years without war and we pride ourselves on this, without at times suspecting that we as previously are approaching funeral homes and still young mothers are putting on black shawls.

Maybe the data of the independent military commission of experts according to which nearly 4,000 men annually die in the Army are not entirely correct but there is no capability to compare them with other [data] which the Ministry of Defense certainly has at its disposal. This statistic, which the congress participants repeatedly spoke about, remains restricted for society. But certainly since there is a people's diplomacy, there is also a people's statistic. As, for example, in the Poznanskiy family of Leningrad: Their only son Kirill, drafted into the Army from his third year at the polytechnical institute, is buried in Novovolkovskiy Cemetery. There, five of the 100 who were buried in the Kupchinskiy section in 1988 were soldiers. All are the same age as Kirill.

Valentina Semenovna Korosteleva from Dokshitsa in Vitebsk Oblast brought two photographs to the congress. In one is the grave of her father who fought at the front

and who lived until 76 years of age. "He loved his Homeland and gave everything to it" is written on the headstone. Now her only son Igor, who lived until 19 years of age, lies alongside her father. What do you write on the headstone? Maybe that the most socially unprotected among us are draftee-soldiers? That cruelty and violence have become the standard in the Army? That a mother who escorts her son to the Army does not know if he will return or not? Will interethnic discord avoid him?

It is frankly stated in the soldiers' mothers draft appeal: "Forced service of soldiers in the internal troops and also their use against people's demonstrations is inadmissible." But as for performing compulsory service—then "only in one's own republic or region." And it is no coincidence that republic Supreme Soviets are adopting precisely such laws under the pressure of public opinion.

Our soldiers, said the speakers, are not only members of society who are unprotected and have no rights but they are also the cheapest work force. We need a law that would guarantee each man's primary right—the right to life. Now finally, as it has already been done long ago in other countries, [we need] to also introduce soldier's social security in accordance with international standards.

Where, in which other country, asked the mothers, can we encounter such things as: To charge officers with crimes for damaging equipment or other material damage, and for the deaths of young lads entrusted to them who were children just yesterday? Does no one ask? For many of those gathered at the congress, their paths

also went across the thresholds of military procurator's offices, judges, and high Army offices—in searches for the truth about the causes of their sons' deaths. But this truth, also like the Ministry of Defense's statistics, are restricted even for many mothers.

The congress is continuing its work. And not only in Moscow. As our Correspondent S. Troyan reports, a founding congress of Ukrainian Soldiers' Mothers simultaneously opened in Zaporozhe. M. Ovcharov sends this from Yaroslavl: A Yaroslavl mothers' appeal to the USSR President and to the country's leaders has been published in the oblast newspaper: "Russia needs our sons." Essentially, a new social movement is being born that is capable of actually accelerating the acutely necessary reform of the Armed Forces.

We suspect that after these notes [are published], people will be found—especially among military personnel—who will next accuse the press of inciting passions and our colleagues from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA will see in this grounds to state their allegations that IZVESTIYA and other publications are "inciting anti-Army moods." It is easy to state such charges to the applause of like thinkers from high rostrums. But we would like to see a man in shoulder boards who would dare to say this in this auditorium. Incidentally, is it not strange that no USSR Ministry of Defense leaders turned up in the hall?

No, we do not need to incite passions—neither anti-Army nor anti-mother. It is another time. Other moods. As the VUZ Professor Mirzoyan from Armenia said "No more terrible weapon in the world will be found if we mothers unite. We are not afraid of anything. We have nothing to lose. We have lost the most precious [thing]."

**Gen Army Sorokin on 35th Anniversary of Pact**

90UM0590A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
13 May 90 p 2

[Interview with General of the Army M. Sorokin, USSR Deputy Minister of Defense and Military Council Member of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, by A. Slobozhanyuk: "The Guarantor of Peace"]

[Text] Tomorrow marks the 35th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact Organization, the military-political alliance of the socialist states. The SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent A. Slobozhanyuk has asked the USSR Deputy Minister of Defense and Military Council member of the War Pact Joint Armed Forces, Army Gen M. Sorokin to describe the reasons for its founding and the tasks confronting it.

[Sorokin] First of all, I would like to emphasize that the concluding of the Warsaw Pact was a measure forced upon the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries and caused by the growing danger of the unleashing of a new world war. By the time of its signing, that is, by May 1955, an extremely complex and tense military political situation had arisen in the world and particularly in Europe. The United States, England and the other Western countries over the 10 years after the end of World War II had brought about an abrupt about-face from collaboration within the anti-Hitler coalition to outright confrontation with the former Allies and they were ignoring the obligations assumed in Yalta and Potsdam.

The Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries undertook active efforts to prevent the splitting of Europe and to make it a continent of peace and good neighbors. In May 1948, the Soviet government turned to the U.S. leadership with a proposal to commence talks on a broad range of international problems, to prepare and publish a joint declaration that the parties would not resort to armed force in resolving differences between the states as well as conclude a peace act and begin gradual disarmament.

This appeal was not heeded and the consolidation of the aggressive forces continued. In April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or NATO was established. The situation was particularly exacerbated when the question arose of including West Germany in this bloc as Germany was seeking revenge for the defeat in World War II. The Soviet Union, after consultation with Poland and Czechoslovakia, again proposed that the former allies agree on a system of collective security in Europe. And again a refusal. At the end of 1954, a meeting was held with the participation of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to discuss the ways of maintaining peace on the continent. At that time, there was a warning issued that if West Germany became a NATO member, the nations participating in the conference would carry out joint measures aimed at strengthening their defense capability.

The further course of events is known. After the ratification of the Paris Agreements, West Germany officially became a NATO member in 1955. The measure of response was the signing of the Warsaw Pact on 14 May of the same year. The Warsaw Pact included eight countries listed above. (In 1968, Albania withdrew from the Warsaw Pact.) And for 35 years now, this military-political alliance has been a dependable guarantor of peace.

[Slobozhanyuk] Recently, in the Eastern European countries which are part of the Warsaw Pact, the political processes have developed in a rapid, contradictory and at times unpredictable manner. The unification of the two German states is becoming a reality and they are actively discussing the question of including a united Germany in NATO. What, in your view, Mikhail Ivanovich [Sorokin], is the role of the Warsaw Pact under present-day conditions?

[Sorokin] Undoubtedly these processes involve the activities of the Warsaw Pact. Individual politicians have announced the collapse or the decline of the Warsaw Pact, a loss of position and reduced effectiveness of its influence on international affairs. It has been asserted that at present, when the Eastern European states are establishing diverse ties with the Western countries, membership in the Warsaw Pact is an impediment for them. I feel that these are hurried conclusions. At present, in Eastern Europe there is no alternative mechanism which could ensure stability on our continent more effectively than the Warsaw Pact. At present, there is no constructive proposal for such a mechanism. And here we should point out that a recognition of a fact of a balancing of forces, parity between NATO and the Warsaw Pact as well as a reduction in the high level of parity to limits of sufficiency for defense have been a consequence of maintaining the principle of an equilibrium of forces between East and West. Any changes in the structures of these blocs could have a negative effect upon the process of a lessening of international tension. For this reason, I am firmly convinced that a united Germany should not be a member of NATO. At the recent meeting of the foreign ministers of six states in Bonn, E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized that the entry of the new Germany into NATO "would mean a sharp disruption in the balance of forces in Europe and would create a dangerous military-strategic situation for us."

[Slobozhanyuk] Just what then should this state be? Certainly the possibility of its joining the Warsaw Pact would be problematic.

[Sorokin] It should be outside any bloc and neutral. But this is not only our desire. In the course of a public opinion poll conducted in both German states in March of this year, 92 percent of the GDR inhabitants and 58 percent of the West German favored neutrality.

[Slobozhanyuk] The change in the general political conditions in the Eastern European nations will probably have a substantial impact on the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact?

[Sorokin] At present, it is perfectly clear that belonging to the Warsaw Pact should not be determined by ideological factors but rather primarily by the interests of national and collective security of its members. We should remember that the Eastern European peoples have long endeavored to defend their independence by joint efforts. We should also recall that the absence of proper mutual understanding on the eve of World War II prevented these peoples from joining together in the struggle against fascism. As is known, with the coming to power of H. Truman, the United States attempted to employ nuclear blackmail against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. At present, could anyone give a guarantee that something similar to some degree might not be repeated after the United States has completed its work on the SDI Program? Or let us assume that in a united Germany, leaders came to power who were demanding the restoring of its 1937 frontiers and this also would lead to a sharp rise in the military danger. Of course, these are hypothetical suppositions. But when it is a question of the security of peoples, it is essential to consider all possible destabilizing factors.

In welcoming the democratic changes and the lessening of tension in the world, we cannot help but point out that the United States and the other NATO countries are continuing to modernize their military equipment and the troops are being outfitted with new types of weapons. The annual exercises conducted by the NATO Armed Forces in Europe in terms of scope and nature of the tasks being carried out virtually do not differ from the deployment of assault groupings for real combat.

As long as the danger of a new world exists, the states which are members of the Warsaw Pact are forced to maintain their armed forces in a size and on a level which do not exceed the limits of sufficiency for defense and also guarantee the repelling of possible aggression. The Warsaw Pact Joint Command, in coordinating the activities of the troops, has focused its main efforts on ensuring the predominant development and modernization of those weapons which guarantee a reliable defense of the allied states against aggression.

### Letter to Semipalatinsk Commander Protests Testing

90UM0738A Moscow POISK in Russian No 18,  
4-10 May 90 p 5

["Mail: Dialogue with Readers: Open Letter to the Commander of the Semipalatinsk Test Range Lieutenant-General A. D. Ilyenko," from Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences Member and Academician S. Balmykhanov]

[Text] Most Respected Arkadiy Danilovich:

In early October of last year the Ninth Congress of the Worldwide Movement "Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" was held in Hiroshima. This movement has been awarded the Nobel Prize. The congress was attended by 3,000 representatives from 90 different countries who came to Japan to appeal to all the governments of the world to bring to an immediate end the testing of nuclear weapons and to achieve a nuclear-free world by the end of this century.

The spirits of those attending the conference were dampened by the unexpected explosion which you conducted on 4 October, one day before the congress opened. Was this merely a coincidence, or was it a challenge to the people of the world? I was asked this question by many delegates to the conference. I could not answer it, therefore I'm turning to you for the answer.

Both you and I, comrade General, were extremely active participants in the work that was done at the applied science conference held in Semipalatinsk, even though we took different positions on many issues. You were categorically opposed to accepting a resolution to immediately halt nuclear testing. You countered by proposing a reduction in the yields of tests, increasing the depth of burial of the test devices, and most important, reducing the number of tests conducted. However, you have not carried out your promise. During the following two months you conducted three explosions, in which the yields of at least two of them greatly exceeded the limit which you yourself set. In insisting upon continued testing, you, comrade General, denied any harmful effects of the testing on the health of the population. If that indeed is true, then why do cancerous tumors strike the inhabitants of Kaynar two to two-and-a-half times more often than for Kazakhstan as a whole? Why are the mortality rate and birth defects among infants higher? And how do you explain the higher incidence of mental retardation among children and teenagers as you get closer to the test range? Since 1962 under your direction a so called antibrucellosis sanatorium has been operating for the purpose of caring for those local inhabitants who have been subjected to the effects of radioactive fallout. It is common knowledge that 10,000 Soviet "khibakusya" (the term used for those Japanese who survived the atomic bomb) are registered with the sanatorium, but at present only one third of them are receiving treatment. What happened to the rest of them? And what preventive and curative treatment have they received from the sanatorium? In 1953 the Abrolinskiy Rayon, located on

the test range, was disestablished and its inhabitants were relocated in small groups throughout the Semipalatinsk Oblast, as well as in other oblasts. You, better than anyone else, know that before this happened, those inhabitants of the rayon were subject to the effects of radioactive fallout from numerous nuclear tests. Do the authorities at the test range show any interest at all in the fate of these people?

Both you and I, most respected Arkadiy Danilovich, are of an older generation and are accountable to our children and grandchildren. What are we leaving them? A lifeless Aral? The dried up Amudaryu and Syrdaryu rivers? These are the cradles of ancient civilization which gave us Al-Farabi, Abu-Ali Ibn-Sinu and Biruni, Alishera Navoi and many other great thinkers. Our generation is responsible for the ruination of the Degelen and Myrzhikh Mountains, where Abay Shakarim and Mukhtar Auzzov lived and created their works. These mountains are saturated with millions of curies of radioactive substances, the disastrous consequences of which are inescapable for the future. Our descendants will inherit a test range comprising 20,000 square kilometers and a radioactivity level of 26 roentgens per year. During the time since the last atomospheric test all of the short-lived elements have decayed, but all the while our land harbors such radioactive substances that will not completely decay for hundreds of years.

It is my generation and yours that found a way not only to pollute mankind's environment, but also to destroy his genetic fund which took thousands of years to form. You remember the conclusion of the commission: Those individuals who were subjected to the effects of radioactivity during the period when testing was conducted above ground and in the air were found to possess aberrant chromosomes characterized by complex structural reformation, and a high incidence of mutation in certain genes, such as retinoblastoma. Also there was an increase in the number of malignant tumors and illnesses which lead to cancer, a reduction in immunological status indicators, and increased mental retardation in children.

Our younger generation is losing its health before our very eyes. They show signs of psychological instability, accompanied by a lack of confidence approaching unmotivated fear. Does this not explain why 22 youths committed suicide in Sarzhal?

You and I are obligated to take the first steps in correcting these mistakes. The U.S. Secretary of Defense is recommending to Congress a cut in the Pentagon budget. Why can't we announce the end of our efforts to enhance our nuclear weapons and instead use that money for improving the health and welfare of people who have suffered from the effects of nuclear tests?

There are many people who believe that General Ilenko has not kept his promise, not because of personal interests, but rather due to professional interests—he is looking out for his subordinates. In writing this letter I

am appealing not only to you, but to your subordinates as well. As a veteran of the Great Patriotic War (I twice received the medal of the Great Patriotic War and twice the Red Star), I have great confidence in those who have chosen a military career. I am sure that the highly qualified officers at the test range could form the nucleus of a scientific research institute devoted to the peaceful use of nuclear energy. We would welcome the opportunity to work together with former test range personnel on matters pertaining to radiation shielding, radiation biology and medicine.

### Problems of Introducing Computers to Armed Forces

#### General Staff Response

90UM0605A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
23 May 90 First Edition p 2

[Letter to editors by Major-General A. Puchkov, chief of a directorate, under rubric "Following KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Coverage": "A Response to the Editors: USSR Armed Forces General Staff Directorate"]

[Text] Captain M. Kislov's article "How the Computer Serves the Staff," published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 January 1990, was examined in the General Staff Main Operations Directorate. It raises pertinent issues.

These issues are familiar to the General Staff. Work is under way to resolve them both directly on the General Staff and on main staffs of branches of the Armed Forces and combat arms, in groups of forces, in fleets and in military districts. Some of the work is being done on classified subjects and naturally they are unknown to the author of the article. Of course we would like to have these issues resolved more quickly. The main deterring factor is the absence of a sufficient quantity of modern computer equipment and data transmission equipment (systems) with necessary characteristics. This problem goes beyond the scope of the Armed Forces.

Despite the difficulties, work is being performed in Ministry of Defense research establishments and military educational institutions, and officer-specialist training has been organized on using modern computers, including personal computers. The T/O&E structure issues raised in the article also are being examined. They are being resolved within the overall context of Armed Forces reorganization with consideration of the reduction in the Armed Forces.

#### Coordination Center Need Voiced

90UM0605B Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA  
in Russian 23 May 90 First Edition p 2

[Letter by Colonel N. Guzhev, chief of USSR Ministry of Defense Main Personnel Directorate Computer Center: "A Specialist's Response: A Coordination Center Is Needed"]

[Text] On the whole, Captain M. Kislov's article correctly states the problems of using automation equipment on

staffs. Unfortunately, however, the material does not provide a systems analysis of the reasons for this situation. I would like to discuss them. They include extremely limited manning levels for staff computer centers and a low career growth "ceiling" in them. There is the absence of real incentives for effective work. There is the lag behind civilian organizations in the quality of technical outfitting as well as the difference in financial compensation that has arisen in recent years compared with the very same specialists in other ministries and departments. All this causes a "brain drain" and a drain of working hands from the Ministry of Defense system.

We also often lose necessary specialists under the cloak of a reduction in the Armed Forces and the management staff. Here too it is impossible to disagree with the author of the publication that we must take a more differentiated approach to these problems.

The existing approach to forming manning levels of computer centers even in case they are outfitted with more productive equipment reduces the effect of this very outfitting. With a careful examination of the problem, one discovers on the one hand a weakness of computer center subunits called upon especially to work on and accomplish tasks in staff interests (or an absence of such subunits), and on the other hand, functions of ensuring automated accomplishment of tasks on the staffs themselves are distributed among available officials only as an additional load. It is practically impossible to obtain stable, quality results under such conditions.

The proposal made in the article for establishing inter-regional centers for training staff officers to work on automated command and control system equipment raises more problems than it solves. It would appear to be more advisable to arrange necessary training for officers based on existing military educational institutions in accordance with their profile and branch affiliation. This concretizes training with consideration of the specifics of automation equipment being used in each branch of the Armed Forces.

In my view, it is necessary above all to have leadership personnel realize this requirement and understand that introduction of such equipment does not lead immediately and directly to a reduction of the management staff; to the contrary, it requires the involvement of additional cadres and the retraining of existing ones.

Creating a mechanism of economic incentives for specialists on computer equipment and control automation equipment, including officers, would permit more effective use of their intellectual potential.

Today the creation of a single coordination center in the Ministry of Defense structure for the development, introduction and operation of automation equipment and control automation equipment providing the possibility of such equipment interworking at the technical,

programming, information and linguistic levels seems obvious. The center's functions also should include keeping a catalog of problems which have been worked out, creating and maintaining departmental classifiers and dictionaries, solving problems of legal support of control automation systems, and developing and monitoring compliance with system requirements in automation equipment being developed.

### Obituary: Marshal of Aviation Rudenko

90UM0737A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
14 Jul 90 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Marshal of Aviation Sergey Ignatyevich Rudenko"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Sergey Ignatyevich Rudenko, hero of the Soviet Union, prominent Soviet military leader, and participant in the Great Patriotic War, died suddenly. He devoted his entire adult life to selfless service to the Motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, which he joined in 1928.

S. I. Rudenko was born on 20 October 1904 in the town of Korop, Chernigov Oblast. In 1928 he volunteered for service in the Red Army, in which he rose through the ranks from flight school cadet to Marshal of Aviation. Prior to the war, he served as commander of a squadron, regiment, and aviation division. In 1932, he graduated from the Air Force Academy imeni N. Ye. Zhukovskiy.

At the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, S. I. Rudenko was serving in the operational army. He commanded an aviation division, then the air forces of an army and of a front. In September of 1942 he assumed command of the 16th Air Army. He saw action in the Stalingrad and Kursk battles, and in the Belorussian, Warsaw-Poznan, East Pomeranian, and Berlin operations, exhibiting high military and management skills, steadfastness, and personal courage.

After the war, S. I. Rudenko occupied various positions of leadership in the Air Forces. He served tours as chief of the Main Staff, Air Forces; commander of Long Range Aviation; first deputy commander in chief, Air Forces; and chief of the Air Force Academy imeni Yu. A. Gagarin. In 1973 he became a military inspector and adviser in the Group of General Inspectors, USSR Ministry of Defense.

S. I. Rudenko was actively involved in social and political work. He was elected deputy to several sessions of USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets. All his activities benefited from his efficiency, adherence to party principles, exactingness with respect to himself and his subordinates, and concern for people.

The Motherland thought highly of his services. He was awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union; six Orders of Lenin; Order of the October Revolution; four Red Banner Orders; two Orders of Suvorov, 1st Class; Order of Suvorov, 2nd Class; Order of Kutuzov, 1st Class;

Order of the Patriotic War, 1st Class; Order for Service to the Homeland in the USSR Armed Forces, 3rd Class; and many medals. He was also the recipient of a number of awards from foreign countries.

The name of Sergey Ignatyevich Rudenko, a true son of the Soviet people, will remain forever in living memory.

M. S. Gorbachev; A. I. Lukyanov; N. I. Ryzhkov; D. T. Yazov; M. A. Moiseyev; P. G. Lushev; K. A. Kochetov; N. I. Shlyaga; A. S. Pavlov; Yu. P. Maksimov; V. I. Varennikov; I. M. Tretyak; A. N. Yefimov; V. N. Chernavin; M. I. Sorokin; V. M. Arkhipov; V. M. Shabanov; N. B. Chekhov; V. L. Govorov; V. F. Yermakov; Yu. A. Yashin; S. F. Akhromeyev; B. P. Bugayev; A. I. Koldunov; A. N. Volkov; B. G. Kulikov; S. K. Kurkotkin; N. V. Ogarkov; V. I. Petrov; S. L. Sokolov; I. N. Kozhedub; A. D. Lizichev; A. P. Silantyev; N. M. Skomorokhov; A. N. Soshnikov; D. S. Sukhorukov; I. N. Shkadov; Ye. I. Shaposhnikov; G. M. Belov; V. Ye. Pankin.

### Interview on Acceptance of Judicial Officers Among Units

90UM0768A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
25 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[Article by I. Mikhaylov: "Judicial Officers: What Is New?"]

[Text] For more than six months, new specialists have been serving within the Western Group of Forces. These specialists serve as legal advisor assistants to formation commanders. What have they brought that is new to the life of the military collectives?

The Chief of the Group for the Management of the Judicial Service of the USSR Ministry of Defense, Colonel of Justice A. Butorin, who only recently returned from the Western Group of Forces, discusses this matter.

[Mikhaylov] "Over the past year or two our entire army and navy were to have been staffed with specialists from the judicial service. Great hopes are attached to their being able to provide legal protection to the military servicemen. Have they proven their worth within the Western Group of Forces?"

[Butorin] "Not in all cases. In some places, as it turned out, they simply were not expecting legal officers. They were greeted as the regular augmentation of the staff officers. And so we have the scarcest of all specialists overseeing the shipping of potatoes and helping the political department people in their very specific tasks.

"And here is another example. Whereas prior to the appearance within an unspecified formation of Lieutenant of Justice V. Kurnoskin, every year the judge advocates were protesting as many as 40 illegally issued orders, now this has been eliminated almost entirely. This means that our specialists are assessing any violation and often are selecting the action to be taken against the transgressor. They are resisting both the attempts to

cover up a violation and the groundless punishment of officers for the actions of their subordinates."

[Mikhaylov] "But isn't it true that control is not the most reliable guarantee against unlawful actions?"

[Butorin] "Control functions are only a part of the responsibilities of our officers. Another, more important aspect of their work is to teach personnel how to abide by the law. And this includes those who develop orders, those who prepare documents for maintaining accounts on materials and financial transactions, and those who conduct an inquiry and an administrative investigation. For example, in one formation alone we managed to prevent illegal write-offs amounting to more than 10,000 [Deutsch] marks."

[Mikhaylov] "This part of the work of the legal assistants to commanders is closely tied with service-wide judicial training."

[Butorin] "Without a doubt. For example, I liked the approach of Lieutenant of Justice V. Rogachev. Without waiting until it was time for the service-wide administering of tests, he put into practice a program of giving brief training exercises to officers at the end of meetings. Of course, we have no evaluations as yet, but the people are becoming accustomed to thinking in legal categories. Another positive aspect of this is that in each garrison where we have spent some time, informal, legal consultations are in operation."

"But there are also complications and misunderstandings. For example, contrary to the requirements of the appropriate documents time for the legal training of the officer corps basically is allocated against commanders' training. In many units we did not find the orders needed for the daily working of the orders and directives issued by the senior chiefs. Things are not going too well in providing the troops with legal literature and official publications of standard documents. Here we have an obvious breakdown in the work of those who organize subscriptions and book sales. The local troop newspapers can and must do more for propagandizing the knowledge of legal matters."

"Nonetheless, the general impression gained from the inspections remains good. A serious effort has been made toward establishing a judicial service directly among the troops. The experience of the legal officers within the Western Group of Forces has been studied at a special training and methodological session attended by the leadership of the judicial service, which began its work yesterday."

### **N Caucasus MD: Local Failure to Provide Military Housing**

90UMO810B Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA  
in Russian 4 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by Major N. Astashkin: "Housing in Arrears".]

[Text] During a District Military Council meeting devoted to discussing housing problems facing military

families the following example was given: According to a 1984 joint Communist Party Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution, local soviets are obligated to provide the USSR Ministry of Defense a certain amount of living space each year. However, the demands of this resolution are not close to being met. For example, in the Rostov garrison alone they fall short some 10,000 square meters of living area.

And the indebtedness continues to grow, as I learned in a conversation with the military district's Billeting and Maintenance Directorate [KEU] Chief, Colonel Yu. Kuzmenko. "We have frequently appealed to both party and government soviet organs, but always with the same negative results."

Why is such a thing happening? In order to shed some light on this matter we set out for the city executive committee where I met with the Chief of the Department of Housing Administration, Yu. Grishin.

"What indebtedness?" asked Yuriy Ivanovich in bewilderment. "We do not owe the garrison anything. Beginning in 1986 the city executive committee turned over 4,053 square meters of living space to the military."

This gives rise to a paradoxical situation. The garrison is filing a complaint with the local soviet, while the city executive committee is of the opinion that it is the military itself which is in arrears. Who is right?

As it turns out the city executive committee is officially tasked with providing the garrison approximately 6,000 square meters of living area each year. This is the baseline figure that the KEU uses to calculate arrears in housing debts. On the other hand the local authorities base their calculations on a certain percentage of the amount of living space provided by enterprises that are obligated to provide housing, as well as construction organizations.

In reality, the situation is that in the first quarter the local soviet turned over to the garrison a total of 40 square meters of living area, some 0.2% of its quota.

"Prior to 1988 we turned over to the garrison eight percent of all the housing commissioned to my department, hardly enough to meet the housing demands of military families," related Yu. Grishin. "The percentage was increased to twelve percent, but still there was a housing shortage. Why? Two years ago many enterprises switched over to cost accounting and self-financing. Today they build housing and bear the costs themselves. And the living space paid for out of their funds is intended, as everyone knows, only for the workers of a particular enterprise. The executive committee has no control over such housing. This leaves the executive committee with less and less housing to "share" each year."

In other words, the city authorities have concluded that, as they say, 'you can't get blood out of a turnip.' "Not

only have we maintained the percentage of housing turned over to the garrison, we have even increased it recently."

And what about those families who are waiting for housing? Yuriy Ivanovich Grishin offered this bit of advice: "First, the military itself needs to participate more actively, and secondly, they should increase their own housing construction."

"Of course it is always easier to give advice," lamented Lieutenant-Colonel K. Kolyada, the chief engineer at the District KEU, in a recent conversation. "But the problem is that the city did not turn over a single clump of ground to us. And those plots which belong to the Ministry of Defense are practically built up to capacity. In the city we have three small spots remaining. But in order to begin construction there, we must evacuate people and take down several facilities and buildings. And where will we get the money for this? They only give us money for building housing. And lastly, the city is more and more frequently making unreasonable demands on us. For example, they won't allow us to build any housing until we first build a movie theater, shops, or a culture and health-fitness center in the micro rayon. We probably, could do that. But I repeat, where would we get the money, construction materials and equipment?"

So in the end it's a hopeless situation. On the one side the local authorities are seemingly struggling to end the housing dilemma as soon as possible for military families. And on the other, they themselves are part of the problem. Such an approach to the matter can hardly be called responsible. It must be said in addition, that in a number of garrisons within the North Caucasus Military District the amount of housing owed by local soviets

remains quite high. None of this in any way is in keeping with the decisions of the party and the government, nor with the USSR Presidential Decree on the "New Approaches for Solving the Housing Problem in the Country and the Measures for Putting Them into Practice". It is clearly stated in this decree, that "strengthening the guarantees and increasing government aid in providing housing to military families has become imperative."

#### **Talks Between Lvov Oblast, Carpathian MD**

*90UM0810A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
5 Aug 90 First Edition p 3*

[Article by Lieutenant-Colonel A. Andriyuk: "Beneficial Dialogue".]

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Lvov Oblast Congress of People's Deputies recently convened a scheduled meeting of the leadership of the Lvov Oblast Council, the Oblast Executive Committee, the leadership of the Executive Committee of the Lvov City Congress of People's Deputies, and representatives of the Carpathian Military District Command Headquarters.

Among the important and substantive issues discussed during this meeting were: the drafting of young people into the Soviet Army, the use of land within the oblast by agents of the USSR Ministry of Defense, housing for retired and other personnel released from active duty, and ecological and other issues.

Emotions flared during the talks on both sides. But overall the dialogue was credited for improving mutual understanding among the sides, and in resolving important issues.

### Air Drop of Manned Armored Vehicles

90SV0036A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
7 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondents Col G. Miranovich and Col N. Mulyar: "First Reporting: Jump of the 'Centaur'"]

[Text] There were 1,500 men air dropped in a recent exercise carried out in the Odessa Military District, but there was something special about the participation of six of the men.

Those who read our account of the exercise (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 18 August) most likely remember the way it took place.

The helicopter carrying the President of the USSR had barely landed before the sky above the training ground broke out in parachute canopies. The guards parachute regiment commanded by Guards Lieutenant-Colonel S. Voznesenskiy was descending to earth to deliver a powerful blow against the enemy rear.

An air drop of the "winged infantry" with its armament and equipment is always an impressive event. Once more, this was a sight to behold. However, the attention of those who were observing the airborne assault was immediately drawn to the first three combat vehicles in the sky. Nine enormous canopies were attached to them as they made their smooth descent.

**Background:** The "Shelf" reusable air drop system, fitted to the BMD [airborne combat vehicle] by means of a special platform, incorporates a cushion type shock-absorbing device for safe but fairly rapid descent of the equipment. In the opinion of specialists, one of the major advantages of the "Shelf" compared to other systems employed by the VDV [Airborne Troops] to air drop heavy equipment is greater stability of the combat vehicle at the instant of landing and faster disengagement of the equipment.

The Military Transport Aviation pilots, performing their task in a flawless manner, dropped their cargo with such precision that the three sets of parachute canopies descended to the ground one after the other, close to the observation area. However, the most interesting aspect was yet to come. The first vehicle came down on the shock-absorbing cushion with its full weight, caused the air to be driven out of it with a whistle, and remained in place. The usual procedure at this time is for specialists to immediately become occupied with disengaging the equipment and readying it for combat. This time, however, we saw something else: Troops jumped straight out of the BMD!

**Background:** Air dropping of manned combat vehicles is not widely practiced in either our Army or other armies of the world. However, it has been under development for some time. The first person to perform a jump while located inside a BMD was Aleksandr Margelov, son of

the then Commander of Airborne Troops, General of the Army V. Margelov. Dozens of men have made that kind of jump since then.

The first thing we heard later as we met the heroes of this feat was a statement of appreciation in honor of Airborne service specialists Colonel A. Belonogov and Lieutenant-Colonel V. Orlov, who prepared them for the jump. This was understandable, since who could say who suffered the most anxiety during the drop—the persons flying in the BMDs under the parachute canopies, or those who authorized this admittedly difficult flight.

This was the first time that this kind of air drop was employed in the Guards Airborne Svirsk Division. This was not a case of a decision imposed from "above." VDV [Airborne Troops] Commander Colonel-General V. Achalov, in conferring with the officers, did not insist on conducting the experiment, requesting instead that all aspects be given sufficient thought. But there was no question of that! While regimental headquarters was debating the action, the division commander was besieged by volunteers who somehow learned of the opportunity to "take a chance."

The selection requirements were demanding. Guards Senior Lieutenant Konstantin Osadchev, chief of the Regimental Medical Office, admitted that he is still straightening out "sour" feelings he caused among some of his friends who were not selected to be the six lucky ones, a decision they believe was up to him.

"What did I have to do with that?" Konstantin asked smiling. "The point here is that, to us, a paratrooper is a hero of epic proportions. The persons that did not pass the tests did so out of excitement."

If the full truth is to be known, we must say that lads reporting for duty at airborne units are below par with respect to health and physical fitness. The VDV operates on the principle that units must send medics to military commissariats to look over the possible replacements. Nevertheless, even this kind of control does not insure the exclusion of persons who have a health problem. There are insufficient replacements, as a rule; military commissariats are known to resort to various devices to fill an order.

The end result is that many "heroes of epic proportions" of whom the medical office chief spoke gained their strength here, in the regiment, thanks to a well organized physical fitness program. At least nine hours a week are devoted to this purpose. This of course is in addition to independent activity in company exercise facilities set up in each barracks.

It was just this kind of strong and fit individual that stood before us in the persons of Guards Senior Lieutenants Vladimir Tregubov and Oleg Gobuzov, Guards Senior Sergeant Aleksandr Soshchenko, Guards Private First Class Petr Gorobets, and Guards Privates Andrey

Lobanov and Andrey Klepikov, after their hand was shaken by the President, who congratulated them on their courage and skill.

"Well done, 'Centaur!'" shouted a representative of the VDV staff in the observation area.

**Background:** The term "Centaur" is used by airborne troops in reference to the "Shelf" system that includes a special chair with a shape reminiscent of that used by the first cosmonauts. It may be seen at the VDNKh SSSR [Exhibition of Achievements of the USSR National Economy]. It seemed to us that this one was more rigid. Held by special brackets in the drop compartment of the BMD, its purpose is to fix the paratrooper's position during flight, descent, and at the instant of landing. The term "Centaur" is evidently used to refer to those who accomplish jumps using this chair. Thus, there is nothing mysterious here.

To be sure, more than physical and medical data of jump candidates was considered by the commission as it was organizing the crews. For example, Division Commander Guards Major-General V. Vostrotin, admitted to us that he petitioned higher headquarters to include officers in the crews.

"The logic is simple," said the division commander, explaining his reasoning. "Enlisted men and noncommissioned officers will soon be discharged into the reserve (he was speaking of men who had already served at least one year—Authors), but the division needs continuity."

Also taken into account were other candidate qualitative parameters, as it were. For example, the candidate must have completed at least 10 jumps. Since the "Centaur" were to arrive first and secure the drop zone in preparation for the arrival of the regiment's forward detachment, each man would be required to possess complete mastery of equipment and weapons and orient himself in unfamiliar terrain.

In the final analysis, the physical aspect as we saw was of decisive importance in candidate selection. With good reason. We traced the entire path—theoretically of course—travelled by Guards Private Lobanov as driver-mechanic, who jumped with Company Commander Guards Senior Lieutenant Tregubov in the first vehicle, from the takeoff area to the drop zone. It did not require much imagination to realize that being a "passenger" in a BMD during the drop was no small task. The chair, the usual tanker's helmet, and leg restraints for holding the legs in a fixed semi-flexed position—that was the sum total of technical equipment, so to speak, that offered protection against injury. Everything else was a matter of the ability to organize oneself and exercise endurance. This is how it may be necessary to sit without moving for several hours, depending upon the depth of the assault. This is not something that everyone can accomplish.

"Was there a feeling of risk?"

"It would have been much more difficult," answered Lobanov evasively, "if it were not for specialists of the airborne assault service. They went over literally every detail with us during training. When airfield inspection officer Guards Captain Ivanov, who maintained radio contact with us in the aircraft's cargo compartment, wished us 'good luck,' we already knew that the light would become bright in the vehicle, the ramp would then open, we would be jolted slightly as in a streetcar, the vehicle's nose would dip, and we would be pressed into the chairs—meaning that the parachute system has deployed. This is how it all happened."

Yes, that is how it happened. The description was repeated by other drop troopers, who added a detail here and there to what their comrade had said.

A. Klepikov: "The air was stuffy in the vehicle for about 15 minutes after takeoff. We reported this to the inspection officer, after which the pilots turned on the air circulation. I saw the ground through the safety glass even before the order 'Make ready for landing!' was given, most likely due to our being rocked. I reported this to the commander. He merely smiled."

O. Gobuzov: "I must admit that that was no time to look at the sights. I heard over the radio that the first vehicle had already landed; Klepikov and I were already on the ground. But where were Soshchenko and Gorobets? They exited the aircraft before we did. Could something have occurred? If so, the people in the vehicle could in no way be helped. On top of that, I lost my knife. In other words, I had things on my mind, but I made it."

A. Soshchenko: "We had no doubts relative to reliability of the parachutes. Also, we heard from the observation area that the system had deployed normally. All of a sudden we heard that everyone was on the ground but that Petr and I were still in the air. Were we carrying less weight or did we get caught in an updraft? In general, we had enough to think about."

P. Gorobets: "We landed, shook hands, and quickly went above. I was quite worried about the vehicle: What if it would not start? We were late as it was. But it—the great little vehicle—did not let us down. Everything else was up to us."

We saw that "everything else." In only three minutes Aleksandr Soshchenko and Petr Gorobets were able to free the vehicle from the air drop system and start the engine. They arrived at the assembly area on time.

Afterward, there was a meeting with the President, Komandirskiye watches from the latter, and the congratulatory "Well done, 'Centaur!'"

**Lt Gen Kendyukhov Critique of Belorussian MD Exercise***90SV0079A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
16 Sep 90 First Edition p 1*

[Interview with Lt Gen Mikhail Grigoryevich Kendyukhov by Colonels G. Miranovich and A. Smolyanko: "The Great Majority Of Questions... Why Task Them with a Training Exercise Today that May Be Considered To Be Typical"]

[Text] As we have already reported, Belorussian Military District troops conducted a field training exercise during the period from 10 to 15 September on the territory of the Belorussian SSR in the area of Molodechno, Uzda, Slutsk, Bobruysk, Beshenkovichi, and Ushachi. When the engagements had died down, our special correspondents posed several questions to Lieutenant General M. Kendyukhov, first deputy commander of district troops and leader of the field training exercise.

[Miranovich/Smolyanko] Comrade Lieutenant General, training engagements, like actual ones, are not similar to one another. Just what is the primary difference of the current field training exercise?

[Kendyukhov] I cannot make you happy with discoveries from the point of view of military art. It was an ordinary, planned, two-sided division tactical field training exercise—which, incidentally, the visiting Great Britain Armed Forces inspection team headed by Colonel R. L. Jilson also became convinced of. One side attacked and the other defended. And well from the point of view of tactics.... Even if we had wanted to go down the well-worn path, let us say, during organization of the engagement, nothing would have been gained because during the battle itself, the creativity and initiative of commanders and staffs was taken above. This is—the capability to not accompany each other according to a previously agreed upon "scenario" but to engage and fight, and that was certainly the main thing in our idea.

[Miranovich/Smolyanko] Yes, we saw how beautifully the tank division first echelon subunit attack that had been initiated nearly got bogged down, having encountered such a beautiful tank counterattack by the defenders....

[Kendyukhov] Many acted "beautifully" as you expressed it: Lieutenant Colonel Sagun, during the previously mentioned counterattack, Major Malygin at the water barrier crossing, and Lt Col Chistov while organizing the imitative deception system....

[Miranovich/Smolyanko] And the thousands of soldiers, sergeants, and warrant officers?

[Kendyukhov] I need to shake each of their hands. And first of all, those who worked on the gun and vehicle crews with reduced manpower. One of the, let me put it this way, bad features of the current field training exercise consists of the fact that many subunits—we are

again returning to this—went out into the field not fully manned. And the fact that people endured everything that became their lot and carried out all assigned tasks says a lot.

[Miranovich/Smolyanko] Including about the fact that we owe them a great debt?

[Kendyukhov] Somehow we need to quickly resolve the problem of these "truncated" regiments, divisions, and armies at the state level. Let there be fewer of them but manned to such a level that a regiment's departure on a field training exercise does not become a district-scale problem. Maybe we will finally resolve this issue during the course of military reform.

[Miranovich/Smolyanko] Mikhail Grigoryevich, right now many people are talking and writing about the traumatic events in the Army and peoples' deaths. And you can also hear the following: They say, a certain percentage of "losses" are even permitted among the military during the course of combat training. What can you say in this regard to the mothers of field training exercise participants who are certainly worried about their sons?

[Kendyukhov] First of all, we did not have any situations that threatened their health or, moreover, their lives even under such workloads which lay on the shoulders of the field training exercise's participants. Second, 60 of my assistants, who constantly monitored the actions of the trainees and evaluated them, could have intervened at any moment during the course of events.

You can reply: Even a larger staff of assistants would not be able to maintain that mass of people and equipment within line of sight. I agree. But it is a poor commander who bets on monitoring alone during work with people. Our departure for the field was preceded by thorough training of each specific person. Finally, we also need to take into account the fact that we are already approaching the finish [line] of the training year—each soldier has the appropriate training and studies behind him.

You were witnesses to the episode when the lead regiment commanded by Lt Col Arkadyev operated on "contaminated" terrain. This type of troop operations is entirely possible during an actual engagement when, say, chemical enterprises could have been subjected to destruction. In our case, we imitated terrain contamination using smoke and training aerosols. But really can these, just approximating combat, conditions also be compared with regimental soldiers tasks if they have not been properly trained?

Obviously, it is also worth reminding [you] that henceforth the state stands in defense of the soldier. The recently released USSR Presidential Decree "On Certain Measures to Increase Social and Legal Protection of Servicemen" defines specific ways to resolve problems associated with this, also including the stipulated increase of responsibility of military cadres for the safety

of personnel. During preparations for the field training exercise, it seems to me that we succeeded in creating an atmosphere of heightened responsibility for personnel safety among the troops. Thus all of these cock-and-bull stories about "planned losses" are nothing other than the maliciousness of certain home-grown "military observers" who are attempting to drive a wedge between the Army and the people.

[Miranovich/Smolyanko] But protecting the soldier is not only saving him from trauma and injuries....

[Kendyukhov] In my opinion, we did what we could to support troop vital functions under conditions of a total shortage. Here I must say a kind word about the political workers. On the threshold of reforming political organs, they did not dwell on their own internal problems. For example, the motorized rifle division political organ aggressively took on the function of social protection of servicemen. Lt Col Pavlov, its commander and a Belorussian People's Deputy, is doing much for this. He is not afraid to enter into a discussion where the honor of the Army is being offended. Valeriy Vladimirovich is well known at many republic enterprises. If it is needed for a matter, the officer includes his deputy's capabilities. Incidentally, the fact that field training exercise participants were supplied with smoking materials is also his contribution. Under conditions of a tobacco shortage, let me tell you, this is a very important detail....

[Miranovich/Smolyanko] While stopped at a village along whose streets a column of armored vehicles had just passed, we heard far from complimentary words directed at it: They said, these military personnel are just stirring up radioactive [dust]...

[Kendyukhov] It certainly is a shame that in Belorussia too where I feel the attitude toward the Army has always been and still remains warm once in a while you can hear something bad about "these military people."

But let us also understand the villagers about whom you are talking. As a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, 18 percent of the republic's territory has been subjected to radioactive contamination. Quite a few difficulties associated with agricultural production have arisen among the people living here. According to our data, stocks of big horn sheep in citizen's private plots have decreased by more than 100,000 head during the last three years in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts alone. The situation with the supply of food products has become acute. That is why some people are giving free rein to their emotions. It is just too bad that people forget that the same fate befell "these military personnel."

By the way, there is no sense dwelling on this here: KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has repeatedly written about the problems of so-called "cesium" garrisons. It only remains to hope that they will not be forgotten by the developers of the single long-term program for protection of the USSR population from the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster. As you know, there were no contaminated zones in the field training exercise area in this

case. Second, active military activities were carried out strictly within the borders of the ranges. In rare instances, troop movement routes went through populated areas. But even here, we are not inflicting any damage on the ecology since we did not even raise dust—due to the incessant rain.

I will not argue that our "little battles" do not introduce some discomfort into the lives of nearby populated areas, especially in those places where large apartment buildings have approached quite near to army garrisons and training fields. For example, take the garrison where we are located right now. When the first brick was laid within its walls, it was about eight kilometers from here to the city. But now the garrison is in the center of the city and we cannot hide the fact that its activities do not only rattle the glass in resident's windows during firing exercises.... But do emotions really help us here? We need to search for some sort of solution through our common efforts. Until we repudiate it, the Army must nevertheless train somewhere. It is impossible to pose the question in such a way, as let us say, the Belorussian People's Front Commission "on Military Unit Affairs" poses it—take the uncontaminated land from the military and let the troops train in the radioactively contaminated zone of Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts.

Unfortunately, even some of those holding power do not want to realistically look at things or trouble themselves with a search for ways to resolve common problems. But nevertheless there is an understanding of urgent Army problems both in the center and locally. No one considers them to be strictly speaking "purely Army" [problems]. Organizationally, the spring draft in Belorussia passed without "losses." With rare exceptions, the republic press is favorably disposed toward the military. However, I cannot be cheered by the fact that we have reached total mutual understanding on defense issues at all echelons of power.

Here, so to speak, is information for thought.

One of the divisions had to be augmented by a minimum of four thousand reservists in order to conduct a full-fledged two-sided tactical field training exercise. We managed to call up, with the "approval" of the leadership of one of the oblasts, just 150 men without whom we could not have gotten by at all. And really, the field training exercise, I repeat, was planned.

Who can we blame for these unpredictable situations? I do not have a simple answer because I must also understand the cooperator, whom we are depriving of a salary while calling for this type of assembly, and a division commander, each of whose subordinates is compelled to act for dozens. We need a law that protects both and at the same time precisely defines the degree of responsibility of each for the security of the Homeland. For now each is having "his own way" although the interest must be common. It has reached the point that we drive to the Baltic after deserters and literally obtain them through

incessant begging from the local authorities in order to comply with the letter of the law.

As you saw, we conducted the field training exercise having resigned ourselves to a lack of personnel. Commanders at all levels obtained experience. But how can it be with those four thousand of the "undeployed" reserve? I honestly admit that I personally painfully think about this. And previously I was ashamed before those who maybe at one time had to make up for what we permitted.

But who can guarantee us that the impending autumn draft will not fail? Under conditions of lawlessness, can we really set our hopes on the complaisance of one [Republic's] draftees alone because someone in another republic flouts the Law on Universal Military Obligation that has not been repealed. You were witnesses of how the celebration dedicated to the 500th anniversary of the

national enlightener, printing pioneer Frantishka Skorini, was conducted on Belorussian soil. They demonstrated how the Belorussians have greatly missed their own origins, how they have begun to forget their native language, and how happy they are about the awakening of national self-consciousness that has begun in recent years. And really can it not occur so that a young Minsk resident, having received a notice from the Voenkomat [Military Commissariat], will say: "But why is it that he who places his national ambitions above the protection of the Homeland should sit it out behind my back?...." We also need to be prepared for this conversation.

In short, when you look at a field training exercise not as a simple collection of tactical examples, but you see it as a series of measures directed at strengthening the country's defense capability, you come to the conclusion: It has placed the great majority of questions before us.

### **Main Inspectorate Examines Physical Training of Air Force**

*Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 May 90  
First Edition p 2*

[Interview of Major-General V. Marushchak, chairman, sports committee, USSR Ministry of Defense, by correspondent Lt Col A. Deryavin: "Are They Strong in the Army Ranks?"]

[Text] A year ago a USSR Ministry of Defense collegium discussed the question of physical training in the army and navy. Recently a commission of the USSR Ministry of Defense Sports Committee, as part of the Main Inspection, checked the physical training of a number of Air Force units and educational institutions. Major-General V. Marushchak, chairman, Sports Committee, USSR Ministry of Defense, tells our correspondent the results of this check, and the problems that it brought to light.

[Deryavin] Viktor Vladimirovich, if it is not a secret, why did the representatives of the Sports Committee test namely the Air Force?

[Marushchak] In the Air Force, a very significant portion of the personnel are officers and warrant officers, for whom high physical standards are simply necessary in accomplishing their official tasks. And here is the picture: Out of the air regiments not a single one received an evaluation of "excellent," and only 6 percent of those tested were evaluated as "good;" among the air training regiments there was not a single "excellent" or "good," and only 8 percent of the tested students and cadets fulfilled the Military Sports Complex norms.

It is well known that for a number of years military pilots have requested that the requirements for their physical training be determined in accordance with the specific nature of their service. Since 1987 it would seem that their wishes have been taken into account. Nevertheless, even when fulfilling such a basically simple exercise as "L-support on parallel bars," 30 percent of those tested in the Kiev Higher Military Aviation Engineering School did not meet the norms. And there is no need to be surprised at this. In March an instructor's methodological assembly of Air Force physical training and sports specialists was held, under the leadership of Lt Gen Avn Ye. Shaposhnikov, first deputy commander-in-chief of the Air Force. Officers of the Ministry of Defense Sports Committee also participated directly in this assembly. I emphasize that these are specialists. Their personal training level was tested. And what resulted? Only 12 out of 70 received an evaluation of "excellent." And Lt Col V. Kononov, chief of the physical training and sports faculty of that same Kiev school, contrived to earn a "2" [roughly equivalent to a "D"].

[Deryavin] What is behind these, to be frank, depressing figures?

[Marushchak] You know, trying somehow to justify their weak physical tempering, the pilots, and not only they, often referred to the shortcomings of the sports base, lack

of sports halls, facilities and swimming pools. To a certain degree this is so. But is this the main reason? What kind of "clever" sports apparatuses are needed to work out, for example, the notorious "L-support?" Elementary parallel bars, made out of ordinary pipes, exist in every sports facility. This means that the reason is otherwise, primarily that far from every officer approaches physical training exercises conscientiously, and that the exercises themselves are often formalistic, and conducted with low physical burdens. As the joke goes in the army: They waved their arms for a while and dispersed. The people responsible must fundamentally change their attitude toward this subject of instruction. And it is also necessary to note that the training of youths entering military schools, and the level of training of the callup contingent, also do not satisfy us.

[Deryavin] Yes, youth called up enter the army unprepared. This question has been repeatedly raised on the pages of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. We received answers from the most varied organizations acknowledging the criticism and stating that everything possible was being done to correct the matter. It turns out that these were all only form answers.

[Marushchak] Regrettable as it is, the level of training of inductees is declining year after year. In order not to make unsubstantiated statements, I will again cite a few figures. From material summarized in the Sports Committee on the testing of school-leavers entering VUZes, and youth called up into training subunits, in 1989 compared with 1988 a 9 percent decline was noted in the indices of the inductees in their fulfillment of the GTO [Prepared For Labor and Defense] norms across all regions of the country (from 30 to 21). If we speak in terms of the republics, in Belorussia this figure was approximately 7 percent; in the Ukraine approximately 6 percent; in the RSFSR approximately 9 percent; in Georgia approximately 26 percent; in Latvia approximately 15 percent; and in Estonia approximately 30 percent. By the start of their military service, 32 percent of the inductees from the Mari ASSR were not able to swim! And this is so even though the norms have become much easier.

One can imagine the difficulties confronted by unit and subunit commanders and school instructors receiving such a weak group of replacements. And we army specialists count on the schools, vocational and technical schools, and military commissariats fulfilling the USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the preparation of pre-induction and induction age young people for active military service in the USSR Armed Forces, and plan exercises with the new recruits based on a certain level of their physical training. Instead of this it is necessary to begin almost from the beginning. The weak physical training level of youth also has a direct effect on the development of such negative processes in army collectives as non-regulation relationships, and the "dedovshchina" [harassment of junior inductees by senior] in all of its ugly manifestations. It is difficult for a physically

weak young man to withstand the pressure of the hooligans in shoulderboards, and difficult for him to bear the burdens and deprivations of harsh military service. From this also arise conflicts, which drive the servicemen into a psychological blind alley, and to nervous breakdowns, leading to hasty, unlawful acts. The pampered upbringing leads to tears and grief on the part of parents, and to the wretched fate of the young men. All of this cannot help but be alarming to society.

[Deryavin] Here is a "naive" question: Does an officer, and in particular a military pilot, require an especially high degree of physical training?

[Marushchak] Only a healthy, physically trained person is capable of withstanding the burdens of long and ultra-long flights, and g-loads during maneuvers and at tremendous speed. But this is one side of the matter. Here is another side. Physically strong pilots are advantageous to the state. It is one thing if an excellent specialist flies and operates a costly machine, say, for 10 years, and another thing if he flies for 20. It often happens with us that these times depend on the indifference and negligent attitude of the officer toward his physical condition; one in four officers tested is evaluated unsatisfactory in physical training. Here we have tangible material damage to all of society the reason for which is such a trivial thing as physical training! It should be noted that the duration of professional flying by U. S. pilots averages 6-8 years longer than that of USSR Air Force flight personnel.

Frequently one can also hear the following argument from an officer-pilot: I and only I am responsible for my own health. Actually, in accordance with guidance documents an officer, including an aviator, has personal responsibility for his level of physical training. Alas, we set our hopes on the conscientiousness of the grown man and military professional, persuade him to be healthy and strong, and some simply don't care that they are putting on extra kilograms of fat, and they begin to become short-winded at the most active male age, as a result of violating the "permissible" limits, in combination with low motor activity! And here is what is paradoxical. The system of monitoring by commanders and senior supervisors is not working. They persistently do not desire to use fully the authority granted them of making an officer's promotion dependent on the level of his physical training. Meanwhile, in the majority of the armies of other countries a system of sanctions is being quite effectively applied, including material sanctions, with respect to officers who treat their physical tempering lightly, and a system of incentives for persons distinguished by strong health and able to constantly maintain themselves in excellent sports condition.

[Deryavin] Why does this happen? And are there, in your view, real ways of making military personnel conscious of the need for a fundamental improvement of their physical conditioning?

[Marushchak] Last year the USSR Ministry of Defense collegium named the causes: the low level of training of inductees and its continuing decline; physical training, despite orders and directives, has practically not become a basic training discipline; constant interruptions in physical training classes, by which commanders accomplish economic tasks; the absence of systematic mass sports work in units and subunits; the absence of the necessary training base. The collegium defined and implemented a number of practical steps to eliminate the shortcomings. But, no improvements have begun in the personal attitude of military personnel, and in particular officers, toward physical training.

I am convinced that the time has come to make strict demands upon commanders, in accordance with the minister of defense's order, for the physical training of their personnel, and to intensify the demands on officers and warrant officers for their physical preparedness, all the way to reflecting this preparedness in efficiency reports, and considering it in promotion.

But even all this is insufficient. The army, as is known, is a copy of society. And until society turns toward a healthy way of life—until it becomes the fashion or the norm (as you wish!) for the entire nation not to smoke, not to have excess weight, and to be dexterous and hardy, we will not solve all the problems. And it is necessary to solve them, and not put them off until later, until tomorrow. Army service and the military duty to the homeland demand this.

#### **Planned Aviation-Technical Bases Provide Inadequate Support**

90UM0816A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
2 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by Colonel V. Soin: "Permit Me to Disagree"]

[Text] Dear Editor! The newspaper interview with the Deputy Chief of a Directorate of the Air Force Main Staff, Major General of Aviation A. Konev, in which the aviation-technical bases (ATB) that have been created within the Air Force were discussed, (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 13 June) has compelled me to take pen in hand.

I cannot be indifferent to the subject of this discussion since I am assigned to work with such bases. And I do not share the optimism with which Comrade Konev presents these bases as an element for improving the structure of Air Force units and subunits, referring in this matter to the experience of the Americans. One must not forget that any, even the most positive experience must be used as it applies to the specific features of our army.

The actual experience of the existence of such bases within the Soviet Air Force provides no cause for optimism. As the Chief of the Communications Troops and the Aviation RTO [Radio Engineering Support] and the TOF [Technical Department of the Navy], repeatedly I have had to check the state of affairs within the subunits.

This includes the independent subunits and those that have been included in the aviation-technical bases. And I am certain that the communications subunits to the RTOs of such unified structures are noted for their poor professional and field training of personnel; and they tolerate unsatisfactory radio engineering support and the loss of communications. One of the reasons for this situation can be found in the fact that the specialists of the rear, who, as a rule, manage the aviation-technical bases, do not know and cannot know the details and specific nature of the RTO communications units. As a

consequence, they do not always take them into consideration in their work. For this reason the Pacific Fleet Aviation command group has petitioned higher authorities to exclude these bases from their structure.

One can also point to the experience of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, which is certain that both an aviation-technical base and a radio-engineering base are needed at an airfield, and not the combined base of which Major-General Konev spoke.

### Improvements in Naval Aviation Rescue Operations

90UM0585A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
13 May 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Senior Lieutenant Yu. Koziyatko, Pacific Fleet: "From the Depths of the Sea: The Search is Underway Within the Fleet Technical Department to Find Ways to Rescue Aviators Who Have Crashed in Accidents and Catastrophes"]

[Text] The "emergency" helicopter made several circles above the sea and "dropped" four parachutists. The first to jump from the damaged equipment was Colonel Yu. Churilov, an experienced pilot and a Hero of the Soviet Union. He was followed by Warrant Officer A. Aksenov, an all-around expert in the sport, who has completed more than 3,500 parachute jumps; and Senior Warrant Officer M. Ulitin, a meritorious expert in the sport, who has more than 5,000 jumps on his record and holds the world record for precision landing at night. The last one to jump was Captain B. Yelchishev, the Chief of Search and Rescue Service of the Aviation Regiment. All of them were dressed in VMSK (high altitude naval rescue outfits) and had the regulation parachutes with which Naval Aviation aircraft are equipped.

Thus, immediately following a meeting of the Military Council of the Air Forces of the Pacific Fleet not far from Vladivostok, in Amurskiy Bay, demonstrations of rescuing naval aviators who had crashed or suffered catastrophes got underway. This was conducted for the first time for nearly the entire history of the existence of the Air Force.

And this is how activities proceeded from this point. The orange smoke of the signal flares, with which the parachutists marked the spot where they landed on the water, provided a clear reference point for the AN-12 aircraft, which had appeared in the sky after a few minutes. The aircraft flew swiftly over the bay and simulated the dropping of a launch. Shortly afterward another aircraft appeared from over a knoll and dropped an emergency rescue container with a boat and a radio transmitter into the sea.

If only it were like this all of the time! But this is still only a training exercise. These exercises were followed closely from the shore by dozens of officers from aviation units and by representatives from the aviation headquarters of the Fleet Technical Department, civil aviation, the search and rescue aviation of the civil shipping ministry and the fishing fleet.

The Chief of Staff of the Air Force Fleet Technical Department, Major General of Aviation V. Safronov, told me that "in general, the special nature of these exercises is found in the fact that they are being attended by representatives from departments which are engaged in rescuing people at sea during accidents and catastrophes."

Meanwhile the rescue helicopter lifted Colonel Yu. Churilov from the water with the use of a special bucket. Warrant Officer A. Aksenov was next in line.

The crew of the Ka-27 helicopter became involved in the business. Having hovered over "those in trouble," the aviators lowered a hook. Ulitin quickly grabbed on and was hoisted into the helicopter. But Captain Yelchishev was "unconscious" and a scuba diver had to be used to rescue him. Then the Ka-27 was suspended over the shore and with the same hook it "snagged" another aviator from out of the bushes on the shore. Colonel V. Zavadskiy, the Chief of the Search and Rescue and Parachute Landing Service of the Fleet Technical Department, explained, "here we see the process of lifting a person from terrain that is difficult to access."

Further activities have been moved into the special training simulator center. Here in a shallow basin Naval Warrant Officer Sergey Nesterov has been demonstrating how to climb onto the flotation devices after entering the water.

The training exercises have not only disclosed many unsolved problems but also have suggested specific ways to solve them. But be that as it may, all "interested people" must act energetically and urgently to achieve a one hundred percent guarantee for the rescue of people from the depths of the sea.

### Disposal of Sverdlov Class Cruisers

90SV0082A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
25 Aug 90 First Edition p 4

[Letter to the editor by V. Kalashnikov and answer by Professor and Reserve Rear Admiral G. Kostev: "'Sverdlov', 'Murmansk', and Others"]

[Text] During the 1940-1950's, our shipbuilding industry began to build cruisers of the Sverdlov Class—the Navy's largest cruiser series. Tell me about the fate of these powerful ships.

V. Kalashnikov, Sosnovyy Bor.

Professor and Reserve Rear Admiral G. Kostev answers the question:

On May 10, 1952 work and testing was completed on the lead ship of this series—the light cruiser Sverdlov. And already the next year, its crew demonstrated the ship's exclusive maneuvering capabilities at celebrations in England on the occasion of the coronation—the cruiser set anchor using the mooring swivel technique in 12 minutes instead of the allotted 90 [minutes] (for comparison: The French ship set anchor in four hours).

The Sverdlov's hull, for the first time in the practice of native shipbuilding, was completely constructed using welding including the armor plate. Seagoing qualities, unsinkability, stability, and also protection of combat posts were improved on the Sverdlov. The new cruiser's weaponry consisted of 12 152 mm main battery guns.

Automatic remote control of turrets and guns was carried out for the first time. Besides the main battery, 12 universal caliber guns, 16 automatic anti-aircraft guns, and two five-tube torpedo systems were installed on the Sverdlov. Equipping the cruiser with Zalp and Yakor radar systems which were modern for that time permitted it to carry out effective fire on naval surface and coastal targets.

Altogether 30 such ships were planned to be built during the first postwar decade. By the middle of the 1950's, the light cruisers Murmansk, Aleksandr Nevskiy, Oktyabrskaya Revolyutsiya, Sverdlov, Ordzhonikidze, Admiral Ushakov, Admiral Nakhimov, Mikhail Kutuzov, Zhdanov, Dzerzhinskiy, Admiral Senyavin, Aleksandr Suvorov, and Dmitriy Pozharskiy were on duty in the fleets.

However, their construction ceased as a result of USSR Armed Forces reductions in 1955.

The country's leadership, having correctly determined the policy toward construction of missile-carrying nuclear submarines and ships, unfortunately unsoundly ceased construction that was already underway and moreover sent new surface ships to the scrap heap. (In short, during that period, the Americans reconfigured unfinished battleships into aircraft carriers and placed already built battleships into mothballs. They were subsequently modernized and entered the Navy). In accordance with a 1958 USSR Council of Ministers resolution, 240 Naval ships and boats were cut into scrap metal, including unfinished battleships and heavy and light cruisers.

The cruisers, having arrived in the fleet, continued their lives and were written off as scrap as they became obsolete. One of the cruisers (Ordzhonikidze) was sold to Indonesia where it received the name Irian. Thus, a stage of development of major surface ships with powerful artillery weaponry was completed.

### Response to Rumors on Disposal of Nuclear Submarines

90SV0037A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
8 Sep 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Capt-Lt A. Ivanov, Pacific Fleet: "Secret and Not Secret: How Nuclear-Powered Submarines 'Die'"; first two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] The problem of scrapping nuclear-powered submarines has suddenly expanded beyond the interests of specialists as a result of the events that occurred in Postovaya Bay of Khabarovsk Kray, which has been reported by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. As in many other cases, persons who are not qualified to make this kind of judgement "blew up" passions and went so far as to frighten the local populace with threats of radiation

danger and possible contamination of the bay with radioactive wastes produced by dismantling obsolete nuclear-powered vessels.

What are the facts? Nuclear-powered submarines are "taken apart" somewhere else—in the Maritime District. I was able to see this with my own eyes.

Officers of Naval technical control reason that delays in dismantling nuclear-powered ships will cause the Primorskiy Kray yard that performs this work to become flooded with ships, so to speak, by the end of the decade. Other units will appear on the decommissioning list. Work is proceeding at a brisk pace to prevent "backing up."

I stood on the "cutting board" where obsolete submarines die. The mighty ways were holding three of them. One was still in one piece. The second was broken down into several sections. The third one was no longer a boat; it was what remains after the work is completed—a reactor compartment and two adjacent compartments. It is planned to dispose of these "pieces" by placing them into a specially equipped place.

Captain 1st Rank A. Kogan, former engineer officer of the first submarine to be scrapped in the Pacific Fleet, invited me to inspect the three-section unit. I followed Aleksandr Borisovich as he climbed the usual timbers to the "third floor" and then jumped onto the hull. Only a shell remained from the compartment. I squeezed into the darkness beyond the hatch. I then realized that I was in the reactor compartment.

Although I was well aware that at this stage of the process the reactor core is unloaded (contains no fuel), I felt somewhat uneasy as I looked at the silvery cylinders and their covers arrayed with numerous valves. Somewhere below there were dull reflections emanating from pipes.

Aleksandr Borisovich continued the tour: "Over there you see the former turbine compartment. Now it is as empty as the others, but there was a time when there were so many mechanisms you could not turn around in it."

I picked up a rack handle in the reactor compartment to keep as a souvenir and went below. The question then came to mind: How much metal does the state obtain by dismantling one boat?

As if he had heard the question, Captain 2nd Rank Kogan related the following: "Loaded onto railroad flatcars, there is enough high-grade sheet metal to make up two complete trains. However, since we pull off metal in chunks and units, we do not even bother to count the resulting number of trains."

That is only ferrous metals! What about non-ferrous? Precious metals?

"Look at this," continued Aleksandr Borisovich. "Former missile tubes. At first we thought we would give them to a kolkhoz for use as silos if nothing else, but then

we received the unequivocal order: Cut them up! And that was that! This is the situation with OSV-2."

We crossed over to the neighboring ways. What I saw there was no longer a boat nor was it yet plain metal. The vessel reminded me of a reconstructed skeleton of a monstrous pre-historic fish. A piece of rubber fell from an enormous height and made quite a noise. Just think: There are about 300 tons of it in each vessel!

The men carrying cutting torches scurrying on the timbers reminded me of Lilliputians trying to tie Gulliver down with their hoses. Compressors and welding equipment made up the rest of the picture of chaos.

"It merely appears to be chaotic," said Captain 2nd Rank V. Selyuk, deputy chief of the unit special power plant engineering service, entering the conversation. "In reality, all the operations relative to scrapping obsolete nuclear-powered submarines have been worked out in great detail."

A vessel with empty reactor core is brought to the yard. A dock or launching dock is employed to set the boat onto a mighty ship carrier, which carries her to the ways. The ship carrier consists of enormous railroad flatcars. A special concrete slab 10 meters thick and as large as a football field supports the rails to withstand the massive weight of the boat.

So, we now have the boat on ways (which, incidentally, are also supported by a concrete slab). Timbers are erected around the boat, a fire extinguishing system installed, and rails set down for the trains, since there is no sense to hauling away the metal by truck.

"But this process must be very expensive. Can it be done more cheaply?"

It was clear that that was not the first time Vladimir Vladimirovich was asked that question:

"Let me tell you a little bit of history. When the first nuclear-powered vessels were being built, it was assumed that it was merely necessary to clean the reactors and sink them in deep water. Both we and the Americans planned to do just that. However, in time the specialists came to rethink their opinion. This resulted in the development of an ecologically clean technology for scrapping nuclear-powered ships. The ships are largely remelted; the three-section units will be carried to a safe place for storage until a method of complete scrapping can be devised. I believe that this will take place within the next decade. The Americans, incidentally, until recently disposed of the compartments by simply placing them into a deep cave located somewhere in the middle of the United States. However, it became necessary to seek a more suitable disposal place after it was discovered that the hydrogen content in the cave had increased."

"What about our place of disposal?"

"It is a complex engineering structure not unlike the vault we built around the Chernobyl unit, the only difference being that it was erected beforehand, with the result that it is more substantial, since this was done without hustle and bustle."

"Vladimir Vladimirovich, what can you tell me relative to the stir raised in the press on the subject of the proposed dismantling of nuclear-powered submarines in Postovaya Bay of the Sovetskaya Gavan Inlet?"

"There were no plans to dismantle 19 nuclear-powered ships in Postovaya, as reported in the newspaper VOSKHOD. I can assure the readers that, as of this time, nuclear submarines can be scrapped in the TOF [Pacific Fleet] only here. Postovaya does not have this enormous technical complex. A yard can be built in about 10 years, but who will need it then? To tell you the truth, I was pleased when I learned that the Navy had filed a lawsuit as a result of the slander directed against Captain 2nd Rank E. Chayka. I am simply tired of our being made to look like 'little idiots' in the eyes of those who 'think common sense and understand what the question is about.'"

Captain 2nd Rank Selyuk invited me to visit the shop where the fuel is removed from reactor cores. Captain 2nd Rank A. Golovatov, who heads this operation, told me about what was planned for Postovaya.

"There is one and only one method of removing fuel from a reactor. A specially equipped floating shop is stationed alongside the submarine. The sheet metal is removed, partitions prepared to set up the equipment to unload the reactor, and other zones set up to carry out the particular procedures.

"Then the rod sleeves are unloaded. If the process is carried out properly, the possibilities of danger are reduced to zero. The 'dirtiest' part of the job, from the standpoint of radiation safety, starts when the spent channel proper must be extracted. It is inserted into a special container and only then becomes exposed, after which it is loaded into the storage place in the floating shop. The protective container is made of thick steel and lead. If we think of the channel as weighing tens of kilograms, the container weighs tens of tons. All the operations are observed by an inspection official who is not subordinated to the Navy; he is authorized to stop the work if it is being carried out improperly."

"Is there a noticeable increase in gamma background in the work area?"

"We employ powerful biological protection and powerful equipment. One hundred meters from the work area, the gamma background reading is at the natural level. This is the kind of operation that was planned in Postovaya."

"Can you tell me how many reactor unloadings have been carried out in our country?"

"The information I have is not quite exact, but I assume that at least 300."

"Now for my final question. Why did the Navy plan to perform all these reactor unloadings in Postovaya?"

"There were no plans to permit boats to languish until work would commence. This would invite the action of destructive corrosion processes and aging of metals;

strength of the materials would also be affected. Any engineer can tell you that. Time takes its destructive toll, in spite of the inhibitors introduced into the reactors of decommissioned boats to retard the corrosion process. That is why timely unloading of a reactor core is a necessary part of ecological safety. Since the decommissioned nuclear-powered vessels were located in Postovaya, that is where the work must be done."

### Shortage of Personnel for Chernobyl Cleanup

90UM0753A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
First Edition 15 Jul 90 p 4

[Article by Krasnaya Zvezda correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov: "Chernobyl: A Dangerous Lull".]

[Text] *Since March of this year not a single serviceman has been called up from the reserves to come to Chernobyl. The decontamination work that earlier was performed by troops in the region, both in population centers and the station itself has completely ceased. Now what?*

"No one, myself included, can answer that question", says Lieutenant-General A. Denisov, commander of the Civil Defense Operations Group in Chernobyl, "the USSR Council of Ministers did not pass a resolution on calling up servicemen from the reserve for eliminating results of the accident. Several ideas have been proposed, such as forming a group of volunteers, shutting down the station, establishing the area as a test range, but so far none of this has been more than talk. Only three establishments can make a decision: the President, the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers. At the moment we are totally in the dark..."

Not long ago I had the opportunity to cover a meeting of the "Chernobyl" union. There too there were proposals for highly qualified specialist volunteers to replace servicemen. But can they be found? Will they want to expose themselves to the danger? This is especially true now when the fate of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant is in doubt. What do the people who remain in the 30-kilometer zone think of all this?

"I have discussed this several times with Sergeants and draftees who are about to leave the danger zone", Commander of the Operations Group for Section 2 of the Kiev Military District Colonel I. Klekta told me, "they think that even if volunteers could be found, they would have to be paid 700 rubles a month or more. That would mean more massive expenditures..."

The situation in Chernobyl is such that Colonel Klekta was compelled to send a disturbing telegram to the Commander of the Kiev Military District, Colonel General V. Gromov.

Concerned with the escalating situation, a commission headed by the Commander of Civil Defense for the USSR, Deputy Minister of Defense of the USSR, General of the Army Govorov recently completed its work

here. It is completely clear now that a definitive decision must be made; who is going to replace the servicemen and what should be done with the military camps and depots of materiel accumulated near the 30-kilometer zone? But this is not a matter for even the Ministry of Defense to decide. The decision belongs to the country's leaders.

As things stand only 800 servicemen remain in the areas where units of the Kiev Military District and other military Districts are deployed. For the last few weeks all they have been doing is putting contaminated equipment in a special "tomb". At present they are occupied with maintaining the camps and the vital activity of the units. There are only several dozen soldiers and sergeants left in the units.

Every day Colonel I. Klekta and Commander of the Operational Group's Political Department Colonel P. Ponomarev rush from one unit to another, reassuring people and as they put it with bitter irony, acting as "lightning rods". Some of the soldiers and sergeants have come to the end of their period in Chernobyl, others have "burnt out", exceeding the maximum allowable dose. Just try and explaining to them that they have to be patient, hold back and wait a little bit. For how long? Why? Who is delaying the decision?

Of course the commanders are gradually sending them back home. There are fewer and fewer people. With no orders coming to close down or mothball the camps and no replacements coming for those leaving, the cadre officers run the risk of being the only ones left. In several units there is already no one left to prepare food. Officers and warrant officers are taking the place of drivers; discipline is decaying. All of this is full of unpredictable consequences.

Recently we have all been witnesses to explosive situations forming in various parts of the country. Extreme measures are carried out, usually after the fact. All things considered, it seems that tension is also growing in the Chernobyl region. Over the next few days and weeks a sizable contingent of reservists will have to return to their families. No one has been found to replace them.

It seems that the Chernobyl problem is turning new and unexpected facets to us. They must be resolved immediately. Otherwise tomorrow there will be new accusations directed at the military. And that is the least part of the problem. The main point is: what will happen to Chernobyl?

**Conversion: Use of Decommissioned Submarines, Aircraft**

90UM0626A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 90  
First Edition p 7

Article by Maj Gen Avn (Ret) B.T. Surikov, candidate of technical sciences: "Weapons of Salvation"]

[Text] Today, when the disarmament process is picking up speed, the question of what to do with the weapons cut and the freed funds has become a practical one. Major-General of Aviation (Ret) B.T. Surikov, doctor of technical sciences, presents his ideas on the matter.

**Why not use the written-off combat aircraft and helicopters for comprehensive ecological studies?**

The defense industry of the Soviet Union and the USA has acquired considerable experience in producing extremely complex territorially dispersed automated data systems. They include strategic systems for warning of missile attack and monitoring space, automatic centers for processing large flows of information used at all levels of combat command and control, data transmission equipment and so forth. I believe that, following necessary modernization, they could be used for creating systems for the ecological monitoring of the environment.

A standard unit servicing a large city might include several thousand modules and monitor the ecological situation in an area of up to 10,000 square meters. The total cost of such a unit could range from 10 million to 40 million rubles. The mobile monitoring equipment could be located on artificial earth satellites, planes, helicopters, vessels or motor vehicles.

The elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles under the Soviet-American INF Treaty was the first step toward reducing nuclear arsenals. This makes it all the more troubling to say that our nation suffered considerable economic losses during the destruction of medium- and shorter-range missiles. It was decided to resort to a primitive and wasteful method of destroying the missiles: blowing them up or flattening them with powerful presses. Most of our missiles were eliminated by launching them. Washington took a more intelligent route, burning the stage engines of the missiles and putting everything else to use.

The problem of making intelligent use of components of the triad of strategic offensive weapons (SNV) is becoming urgent, since the Soviet Union and the United States intend to sign an agreement on a 50% reduction this year. Hundreds of land-, air- and sea-based strategic launch vehicles are subject to destruction under this agreement in the USSR alone.

Soviet specialists believe that, following the necessary additional work at defense enterprises, extensive use could be found for most of the nuclear warhead delivery vehicles in various branches of civilian industry, including the creation of national, regional and global

ecological monitoring systems. Our heavy strategic missiles known in the West as the SS-18, for example, could be used for placing various artificial earth satellites into space, including ecology modules weighing several tons.

In the West there is talk of the possibility of deploying facilities near the earth for the commercial production of new medicines with good curative properties by the year 2000. It is proposed that extensive use be made of the American Space Shuttle reusable spacecraft for setting up the production of pharmaceuticals in space.

Soviet missile designers calculate that each launch of a Shuttle destroys a million tons of ozone, or 0.3% of all the ozone in the atmosphere. The Soviet Proton, Soyuz and Energiya liquid-fuel missiles, on the other hand, as well as certain types of strategic missiles are practically harmless to the Earth's ozone layer.

Several hundred intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and silo launchers are to be destroyed under agreements between the USSR and the USA on a 50% reduction presently being readied.

Preliminary calculations show that, following their modification, the silos for ICBMs subject to removal from the arsenal could be used for the monitored, temporary storage of the most active waste from nuclear power plants in special containers, with a view to its subsequent launching into outer space by means of special missiles. This involves setting up the temporary storage of transuranium isotopes, whose half-life is measured in hundreds of thousands of years.

We have extremely large stockpiles, around 50,000 tons, of toxic substances. Several billion rubles will have to be allocated for destroying these chemical weapons over a period of nine years. We should therefore thoroughly assess the possibility of using silo launchers and other installations for eliminating toxic substances.

The bomb load of modern bombers can account for up to 24% of their take-off weight. Strategic aircraft have an operating radius of up to 8,000 kilometers. Their weapons could be dismantled at a plant, and equipment could be installed on the aircraft for the ecological monitoring of the sea and land and the water surface.

Heavy aircraft could also be used in other sectors of the national economy. It is the opinion of the specialists that, after all the weapon systems have been removed, the TU-95 and B-52 heavy aircraft could be converted into firefighting aircraft.

The modern nuclear-powered submarines which carry strategic missiles have the displacement of the cruisers of World War II. Their development, production and operation are a heavy burden on the USA and the USSR.

A preliminary assessment shows that all of the missiles and launchers could be dismantled on the missile submarines subject to elimination. Freed of all their

weapons, the nuclear-powered submarines could be outfitted with sensors for the comprehensive ecological monitoring of the World Ocean.

There is hope that the development of the World Ocean's resources will be furthered by special multifunctional expeditionary vessels produced by modernizing and reequipping nuclear-powered missile submarines of the USSR and the USA.

The examples cited show that there exists a realistic technical capability for modernizing for nonmilitary use the carriers of the U.S. and USSR nuclear triads subject to destruction under the agreement being worked out on a 50% reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. Given their budget constraints, Moscow and Washington cannot afford not to take advantage of this opportunity.

The armed forces of the USSR and the USA have subunits for performing radiation, chemical and biological reconnaissance and radioactive, chemical and biological decontamination of weapons, uniforms and other equipment and the area in war time. These troops also perform chemical monitoring—that is, they determine the type of toxic or nuclear contamination by testing samples of air, water and soil in a contaminated area.

In connection with the impending staged reduction of chemical weapons it would be expedient to study the possibility and the economic feasibility of using the personnel and military equipment of the CW subunits for the ecological monitoring of the most polluted industrial centers and regions.

In his address to participants in the Global Forum on Environmental Protection and Development for Survival, M.S. Gorbachev stated that Austria's idea of establishing international nature protection groups, "UN green helmets," is worthy of consideration. He said that for this purpose "it would be a good thing to establish a sort of international 'green cross,' which would come to the aid of states in cases of ecological disasters."

The civilian forces of a rapid-response "green cross" in the USSR could obviously be formed with USSR Civil Defense personnel and the emergency rescue services of a number of ministries and other bodies. With respect to this we should remember that a considerable number of veteran officers and warrant officers will be freed here if agreement is reached on the 50% reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and as a result of the troop reduction in Europe.

If the decision is adopted to deploy national airborne laboratories using modernized strategic bombers, the personnel freed could rapidly master the use of this equipment and provide for its regular operation. These airborne ecological subunits could be based at airfields removed from the Air Forces, where the essential equipment and technological installations are available.

The missilemen could place the ecology modules into space by means of modernized missile delivery vehicles, and seamen who have previously performed line duty could operate the ecological laboratories at sea. We must not forget that it has cost the state a lot to train each officer. Veteran officers and warrant officers who will be included in the reduction should therefore be drawn upon for operating the complex ecological monitoring systems.

Our nation possesses everything necessary for the staged implementation of a large-scale state program for environmental protection and intelligent use of natural resources. The disarmament process, the conversion underway and the declassification of a number of military technologies will make it possible to set up highly efficient nature protection facilities.

### Conversion at Leningrad 'Azimut' Association

90UM0626B Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA  
in Russian 25 May 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by Capt (Res) V. Nesterenko: "The Conversion As It Is: On Foot by 'Azimuth'"]

[Text] I can honestly say that I was very lucky. I was the first journalist to get past the "post office box" of Leningrad's Azimut scientific production association, which was off limits to the press for many years. How is the association, a firm fairly well known in the business world but only now opened to the Soviet people, maintaining its bearings in the conversion situation?

The displays at the museum of the association's history best demonstrate the Azimut's merits. Established during the first years of Soviet power, the firm played a prominent role in the provision of the Red Navy with precision navigational and accurate firing instruments.

Along with the high-precision instruments, the Azimut did not forget about consumer goods. The gramophone which was the good companion of the Soviet people for many years was first produced here as a consumer item.

Holder of the Lenin Prize and chief engineer for the association Vladimir Grigoryevich Peshekhonov, who has a direct connection with many of the museum's displays, kindly agreed to serve as my guide at the Azimut.

I asked him about the self-contained instrument systems.

Vladimir Grigoryevich showed me a photograph of the scientific research vessel (NIS) Kosmonaft Vladimir Komarov with the enormous spherical "tower" typical of its class.

"See that ball on the scientific research vessel? Installed in it are antennas which complement the land-based tracking stations. It is our duty to know the vessel's location with maximum certainty. The high-precision instrument systems are essential for this."

The Azimut shops contain an abundance of electronic equipment and unusual machines. They are serviced mainly by people of middle age, let us say. They are working to develop worthy replacements, however. The association has set up a computer classroom at a nearby secondary school out of its own pocket. The kids there prepare themselves for entering an institute with a special department for training electronics specialists, also set up by the association.

Come with me to one of the laboratories. Once again, computers, displays.... A system for a satellite communication system is being developed here. I ask Vladimir Grigoryevich whether there are any automated vessels in the world. I learn that South Korea has succeeded in building one of the first, a large-panel, dry-cargo ship. By normal standards it would carry a crew of 30-40, but it is run by only six specialists. There is a line of displays on the captain's bridge. The vessel is controlled with a keyboard. Man intervenes only in critical situations.

"And when will our first automated vessel take to the sea?"

"If things go the way they have in the past, with endless coordination and lengthy, exhausting negotiations, it will take 10-15 years. We are now trying to cut that to one half or one third by avoiding excessive 'dialog.'"

Large photographs of the nuclear-powered cruiser Kirov and nuclear-powered submarines hang in the chief engineer's office. One of them was photographed as it surfaced from beneath ancient ice. A small flag is visible on the icy armor, literally a couple of steps from the conning tower. It marks the location, the North Pole and the top of the world.

The instruments which guided the nuclear-powered submarine precisely to the pole were also produced within these walls, and the man with whom I speak was directly involved in that.

How is the recognized "defense worker" getting along now, in the time of conversion?

"It is my opinion that we are conducting the conversion as we have many other things—hastily. As though it were another political campaign, and not as an economically calculated, lengthy and serious job. The conversion is an extremely complex process, requiring first of all legislative acts. When the first conversion was conducted in the USA, for example, a law was immediately passed on it. It fills an entire volume. We are doing it very simply, however. We calculated how much money we would take from the military department and then said that this would still not be enough for consumer goods. We will begin producing them at those same 'post office boxes.' We assembled aircraft there, for example, but we will now be producing bicycles. Irons will be turned out where tanks were produced.... It is all irrational, short-sighted. One cannot switch from one technology to another without a pause just because some chief has

outlined a resolution on some official paper. The personnel at defense enterprises have good skills refined over the years or decades. However, we sometimes force them to perform operations which could perfectly well be done by the graduates of a vocational and technical school...."

"What do you see as the solution?"

"We need time. At least two years. Miracles do not occur in a flash. We need investments by the state, and, I repeat, we need legislation."

"But are you not already making some things in the 'civilian' line? Not just that original consumer item on display in the museum...?"

Peshekhonov walks over to a map of the World Ocean and points to some deep areas indicated in darker colors.

"The UN has divided the World Ocean up into exploitable sectors among the large industrially developed powers. I believe everyone is aware that geological processes have produced incalculable riches over millions of years. Primarily, so-called nodules containing precious metals. Today, because of the acute need for metals, we and the entire world are defiling the earth with scars and polluting the atmosphere with harmful emissions. But there is another way. Ecologically pure and economical: gather these nodules, almost ready for processing, from the bottom of the ocean. The USSR Academy of Sciences has ordered a vessel capable of operating in water at depths of 6,000 meters. Following geological prospecting, it will send robots to the bottom to gather the nodules. Experiments have already been conducted in this field. It is very, very promising."

The first steps in the conversion have not been able to shake the foundations of the Azimut at all. And not just because of the large, thoroughly "peaceful" production programs. The scientific production association has some real development projects which promise considerable profits. An item shown at the international exhibition in Turku, for example, which has been patented as a unique device which can smoothly and impeccably paint any surface. The international market immediately snapped up the new product, and foreign merchants are paying the price of a decent computer for it.

"We have developed another very simple instrument, which makes it possible to cure a very unpleasant disease, anuresis, under clinical conditions. We produced 200 last year. This year we shall produce 1,000. We have received many letters of gratitude. Here is a letter from Armavir, for example: 'My son is very young but he suffers from this sickness. Not even Kashpirovskiy could help. You are our only hope....' Of course we will help...."

...The Azimut has a broad range of interests: from self-contained ocean systems and improved medical instruments to currency-generating "coffee grinders."

And it is all created by the bright minds of people of the formerly secret "defense industry."

### Meeting With Austrian Industrialists on Conversion

90UM0626C Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA  
in Russian 29 May 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview with V.A. Kalamonov, head of the Institute for Global Research, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent N. Savostyanov: "Conversion: A Business Meeting"]

[Text] A bilateral meeting on conversion problems will be held at the World Trade Center in Vienna on 29-31 May. Austrian and Soviet industrialists and financiers will participate in it. This is the first such visit to the West by leaders of large enterprises representing our nation's defense complex. They will acquaint the foreign partners with a program worked out for converting a number of Ural enterprises and with specific proposals for joint agreements.

The delegation is headed by Vladimir Avdashevich Kalamonov, director of the Institute for Global Research, with whom a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent met.

"We know," V. Kalamonov noted in the interview, "that under a decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet around 30% of the nation's defense enterprises are to undergo a structural restructuring and begin producing high-quality civilian goods. This is a complex and conflicting process. And we need to approach the problems arising in a deliberated and carefully conceived manner.

"We have fairly advanced technology and highly skilled cadres in the military-industrial complex. We need a scientifically based conversion program in order not to squander but make efficient use of the accumulated scientific production capability.

"I believe that the meeting with Austrian businessmen will, on the one hand, possibly help to avoid errors. We know that the West has acquired certain experience in using the achievements of the military industry for producing civilian products. On the other hand, it will enable us to discuss areas of mutually advantageous cooperation more specifically. We also hope that agreements will be concluded.

### Rail Institutes Reserve Officer Training Program Examined

904H0245B Moscow GUDOK in Russian 30 Jun 90 p 3

[Article by Colonel A. Belozerov, chief of the Military Department, NIIZhT [Railroad Transport Scientific Research Institute]

[Text] Novosibirsk—Critical statements on the advisability of training reserve officers in the country's VUZes systematically appear in the press and on radio and

television. The fact that this advisability is put in question is cause for concern and surprise. On the whole, there is a disdainful attitude by authors with respect to an important state task. At the same time, a number of problems which arise because the military and civilian specialties fail to coincide at certain VUZes are automatically and indiscriminately shifted to all the military departments on an All-Union scale.

I am deeply and firmly convinced that instruction of students in a reserve officers program is extremely necessary for the railroad VUZes. I became convinced of this as a railroad worker by tradition; I worked in a line subdivision before entering the institute, completed the NIIZhT and Military Department of this institute, and during my service in the railroad troops I took part in building many new railroad routes and in developing stations and electrifying a number of railroad sections.

I have often had occasion to apply the knowledge acquired in the Military Department in rebuilding facilities by stages, in overcoming obstacles, in coping with different natural phenomena under extreme conditions, and in putting an end to wrecks and accidents. I can state unequivocally that all construction and installation, repair and operations, and construction and renovation subunits and planning organizations of the Ministry of Railways and the MTS [Ministry of Transport Construction] are performing most of the same tasks that are assigned to the railroad troops. And it is the military departments which provide specific basic knowledge, skills, and experience to carry out these tasks.

The experience in dealing with the consequences of the explosions at the Arzamas and Sverdlovsk stations, the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and the earthquakes in Armenia obviously convince us again and again that specialists in the Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Transport Construction need the knowledge and skills acquired in the reserve officers program. The need for increased requirements for good organization, order, and discipline in railroad transport is also a good reason to have military departments in transport VUZes. There is no question that the graduates of railroad institutes who have gone through the military department program are more competent specialists for the Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Transport Construction.

Obviously the same thing may be said of the VUZes in sectors of the national economy such as motor transport, the maritime and river fleet, civil aviation, communications, public health, and so forth.

I would like to ask those who oppose the training of reserve officers in VUZes: what shall we do with the people who have a higher education in wartime? The state now makes provision for them to be used in positions as officers. So perhaps we should let them perform the functions of privates and sergeants?!

At the same time, the state will have to conduct additional training (up to age 50) with enlisted and noncommissioned officers later on, and when necessary, 3- or

4-month training periods in accordance with the reserve officers program. Perhaps the United States and its allies have given up their very orderly and effective system of training reserve personnel for the armed forces? Or have we suddenly become so rich and conscientious that we can do everything, based only on the wishes and voluntariness of our society?

The answers to these questions obviously suggest themselves to most people. Then where is the logic?

Even today there is a negative attitude toward military training in a student environment, primarily among those who have had compulsory service. There are many reasons for this. We must take into account the imperfection of our Law on Universal Military Obligation and other legal documents in this matter; the dissatisfaction among youth because our armed forces are being turned more and more into "worker-peasant" forces; the fact that VUZ graduates with the rank of reserve officer "stand on the same rung" as a graduate among enlisted and noncommissioned officer personnel; the fact that almost up to this day, a student who goes through a military training program with a greater training workload has had no privileges, and so forth.

Unfortunately, all these problems are being resolved very slowly, as before. We expected that the new "Statute on military training for students..." and the "Statute on military departments in educational institutions" would come out in the first half of 1989, but we still do not have them today. The conference held by the USSR Ministry of Defense and the USSR State Committee on Public Education in Moscow last January turned out to be ineffective as well.

It has long been necessary for our ministers of railways and transport construction to state that a transport VUZ graduate who is a reserve officer and that a graduate who is an enlisted man or noncommissioned officer are on two different levels in their preparation as specialists.

As the ones who order the personnel, the Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Transport Construction must state their opinion in the mass media and directive documents on the advisability of military training for the sectors' specialists. When VUZ graduates are given the rank of reserve officer, they must be assigned to supervisory duties with appropriate benefits as more competent specialists. These graduates should be given the right to select places of assignment first.

Students who go through the military training program should be paid for their additional educational workload to master a second profession. And we should begin solving the problem of increasing the stipend for students precisely with this additional payment.

Graduates of VUZes where there are no military departments or which have not been recommended for conferring the rank of reserve officer in the railroad troops should be called up for 1 year and retain the rights of a young specialist.

Military departments should be given the right to dismiss students from further continuation of the military training program after the first year of studies for practical or moral reasons, while they may continue study in the VUZ. Gifted youths should be allowed to go through the program for separate disciplines in accordance with individual plans.

In order to rule out the possibility of certain special disciplines in military departments passing ahead in comparison with related civilian departments, it is advisable to return to the practice of holding the graduation examination after the ninth semester before the diploma is awarded; training periods in the troops should end after the eighth semester with examinations in the basic disciplines.

At the same time, it is necessary to improve the preparation of VUZ graduates who are not enrolled in the reserve officer program for actions in extreme and difficult situations in peacetime and under special conditions, making use of the GO [civil defense] course for this purpose, and to introduce a separate special course of 70 to 90 hours in addition. These studies can be organized on military training days.

I think that implementation of these suggestions will make it possible to graduate more competent railroad transport and transport construction specialists, to significantly increase the quality of reserve officer training, and to remove the social tension in VUZes associated with the training of reserve officers.

### Shipyard Activity, Conversion Reported

90SV0042B Leningrad SUDOSTROYENIYE  
in Russian No 7, Jul 90 pp 42-45

[Items prepared by A.N. Khaustov: "At the Shipyards"]

[Text]

### Black Sea Shipyard Production Association

The range of the association's product output is: from fishing trawlers to consumer goods, from anchor-mooring capstans to the most complex ships. "The Flagman" was the title given to the account in the newspaper PRAVDA (19 October 1989) of the building of the heavy aircraft carrier, the "Tbilisi." This was not by chance. A ship of this class was created for the first time for the domestic fleet. This is indicated by its basic specifications: length of the flight deck—about 300 m, width—over 70 m, engine power—almost 200 h.p., and speed—approximately 30 knots. Aircraft—about 60—are delivered from the hangar to the flight deck by two hoists. The bow has a trampoline for the airplane take-off. It is estimated that to create this ship, the efforts of specialists in about 800 professions were required, and the completing equipment and materials for it were supplied by about 7,000 of the country's enterprises.

**Volgograd Shipyard**

One of the efficient ways to enter a foreign market is to participate in international trade fairs. The Volgograd shipbuilders presented their output at the Europort-89 exhibition, which took place in Amsterdam. The new oil waste collector aroused great interest, as did the ship doors and hatch covers manufactured at the plant. Negotiations with representatives of firms of the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, the FRG and the GDR took place right at the exhibition, and during them, an agreement was reached on deliveries of the Volgograd shipyard's products overseas. In addition, the Volgograd workers established business contacts with three building berths in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Participation in the international exhibition ensured widescale publicity for the domestic shipbuilding industry.

**Yaroslavskiy Shipyard**

It is the 19th year that SRT—series refrigerator trawlers—developed at the end of the 1960's by the Lenin-skaya Kuznitsa TsKB [central design bureau]—have left the yard's building berths. In consideration of the experience in operation, the design has been constantly improved. Over 80 joint designs of the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry and the Ministry of the Fishing Industry, and other directive documents to amend the design have already been introduced. Now, however, the technical potentials in this plan have been virtually exhausted. In addition, the number of international agreements that have come into force and the more rigid sanitation requirements make further modernization of these ships impossible. The new fishing vessel should have an increased number of devices to automate and mechanize the production processes. It will fully satisfy existing requirements.

**Avangard Shipyard**

From the small Albatros fishing boats and self-powered barges of the "Kolkhoznitsa" type to refrigerator trawlers of the "Laukuva" type, fiberglass-reinforced plastic launches and yachts, and efficient vessels to transport cargo along small rivers—that is the path that this yard has been taking for half a century. In 1938, in the southern border of Petrozavodsk, on the shore of Lake Onegin, its construction began, and on 2 June of the following year the Severnaya Tochka Machine Building Enterprise was founded—now the Avangard yard, which marked its 50th anniversary in 1989. The enterprise is now being expanded, renovated and reequipped. With the introduction of additional production capacities, the area occupied by the yard will almost double. Moreover, considering the requirements of perestroika, half of the new block of shops will be allotted for the output of consumer goods. For example, there is increased popular demand for the Berezhka suites of furniture produced here. Orders for the shipbuilding product—trawlers—come from fishermen in the Baltic area and the Far East. For developing new types of products, and in connection with the 60th anniversary

(1985) of Soviet Shipbuilding, the Avangard Shipyard was awarded the Badge of Honor.

**Krasnoye Sormovo Yard Production Association**

State acceptance has been in operation in the association for about three years. Many people perceive it only as another type of control, added to the OTK [Division of Commodity Control] which existed on the line. Last October the STK [Technical Control Sector] of the association decided to petition the ministry to eliminate the State acceptance system in the association, at the same time guaranteeing the output of high quality products, fully meeting today's requirements. Taking this into consideration, I.V. Koksanov, minister of the Shipbuilding Industry and V.V. Sychev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Product Quality Control and Standards, signed the order to eliminate the State product acceptance organs in the association, beginning on 20 January 1990.

**Okean Shipyard**

Computerizing production is an extremely important direction of scientific-technical progress. At the yard, a computer helps to obtain control programs for gas cutters, rough sketches of pipes and material-equipment documentation. On the basis of the mass of specification information recorded in the computer memory, preparation of production to build ships of three designs is implemented. Systems of automated norm-setting for labor, accounting and personnel movement and wage computation have been introduced. Work is being done to computerize the tasks of intraproduction cost accounting. By means of display screens installed in the divisions of ASUP, the head technologist, and in the design and even the technological-norm-setting bureau, specialists can efficiently obtain the information needed from the computer memory. Now comparatively inexpensive personal computers are being distributed, which are more efficient, when working as a part of computer networks, for solving problems of material-technical supply and design-technological preparation of production and planning.

**Kristall Experimental Plant**

Last year marked the 30th anniversary of the Nikolayevskiy Repair-Machine Plant—now the Kristall—being turned over to the local branch of the TsNIITS [Central Scientific Research Institute of Shipbuilding Technology]. Since December 1959, they have begun gradually to set up the output of devices for technological outfitting of the sector and performance of the corresponding experimental work. The necessary renovation of the shops was carried out. By the end of 1965, 20,000 units of STO [sanitary-technical equipment], with 126 descriptions, had already been produced. The plant began to specialize mainly in the manufacture of welding and gas cutting equipment. The semi-automatic machines Granit-2 and Neva-2, the PRS-3 post and the Shtorm unit considerably facilitated welding operations.

Also produced here was a batch of gas cutters with the Zenit-2 photocopy system. The chief achievement, however, was the development of the Kristall gas cutter with digital program control. The plant collective was awarded the Prize of the USSR Council of Ministers in 1982 for the development of these machines. Other equipment for cutting and welding metal—the Smena-2, Shtorm-2U4, Granit-ZUZ, Vympel, Temp and Vostok—have been widely used in shipbuilding. In 1977, production of Topaz gas-laser machines for marking out, marking and cutting fine-sheet materials was begun. This direction was subsequently further developed. The plant's output began to be supplied for export—in 1985 Kristall type machines were purchased by enterprises in the GDR, and a number of mechanization devices were sent to Bulgaria, Portugal and Vietnam. In the last few years the plant has converted to the output of the Granat plasma-cutting machine with digital program control. Other efficient equipment is also being supplied.

#### Leningrad Admiralty Association

The LAO machine building shops are among the most important units in shipbuilding. Because of the development of new types of products, including equipment for the agro-industrial complex and the meat-dairy industry, the loads on this segment of production have increased. At the same time, a number of large machine tools—vertical boring and turning mills, planing and boring tools—may remain unloaded because of the respecializing of shipbuilding orders. It is now planned to renovate individual shops, arranging technological equipment according to the group method. In the future, a unified block of machine shops is to be set up, which will also include instrument service. Today's task is to prevent a reduction in the number of machine tool operators at the enterprise through introducing benefits.

#### Central Scientific Research Institute of Shipbuilding Technology

New technological processes have recently begun to be introduced into hull-building production. Among them, for example, is electric-arc metal cleaning in a vacuum. The essence of this process lies in the fact that arcing in a vacuum entails the formation of so-called cathode pits on the surface of the metal. Due to the action of the arc on these pits, the scale is evaporated, in turn creating the medium for electric arcing. Therefore, the arc moves rapidly along the scale, without touching the already cleaned surface. This makes the process to a considerable extent self-adjustable. In the first place, it makes it possible to clean fine-sheet rolled metal without warping it, just as in the shotblasting method, and in the second place, it does not pollute the environment. The manufacture of an experimental unit at the Pella plant is specified according to sketches worked out at the TsNI-ITS.

#### Vyborg Shipyard

Electrochemical units of the EOS-15 type produced by the yard to clean sewage on ships is the only such type of

domestic equipment corresponding to the International Agreement on Pollution Protection from Ships (MARPOL 73/78). The cleaning in these units is implemented by the action on the sewage of an electrolyzer of the coagulant ions obtained through the electrochemical dissolving of aluminum electrodes, and then flotation of the colloidal contaminants from the gaseous products of electrolysis. At the same time the water is decontaminated with active chlorine and an electric field. In consideration of the experience in operation at the Baltsudoproyekt Central Design Bureau, the designers are constantly working on improving the EOS type units. In particular, to increase the reliability, they will be supplied with a fine cleaning unit made of fiberglass-reinforced plastic instead of a metal one. To accelerate the introduction of innovations at the yard in accordance with a special program, functional stand tests of the units are carried out, and then—operating-life testing.

#### Perm Kama Shipyard

The poor show of interest in the end results of work and the estrangement of the workers from State property is holding back the development of cost-accounting relations. Because of this, on 21 November 1989, the plant issued an order to carry out preparatory work in accordance with the creation of a State joint stock-holding socialist enterprise, so that the funds gained from the sale of the shares could be directed toward the development of future production facilities, realization of the social programs, and the stock-holders—the yard workers—would have a direct interest in the utmost improvement of the work. The initial stock capital was outlined as 0.5 million rubles. The shares are worth 25, 50, 100, 250 and 1,000 rubles. The number of securities acquirable by one worker is limited to one-tenth of the salary rates and depends on the length of service. The maximum shares can be obtained by a person who has worked at the yard for at least 20 years. The shares are not subject to free exchange. The initial guaranteed level of income for a share-holder (dividend holder) is established as 8%. After approval by the Council of the work collective of the proposals of the worker group in accordance with the stock-holding society created at the yard, specific steps were taken to carry them out.

#### Yard imeni 61 Kommunar

The yard produces about 40 consumer good items in addition to shipbuilding products. A variety of furniture, metal garages, gas cylinders and travelers' tents are all in popular demand. The assortment of goods for the people is being expanded, and their output volume is growing yearly. For example, in 1985, 7 million rubles' worth of them were produced, in 1986—7.455 million rubles' worth, in 1987—10.27 million rubles' worth, in 1988—11.3 million rubles' worth, and in 1989—over 12 million rubles' worth. Approximately 2,300 suites of Prolisok furniture a year have been manufactured. The demand is by no means satisfied, however. The main problems in developing this type of production are insufficient

supply of the yard with the appropriate technological equipment, disruptions of the material-technical supply, and a shortage of specialized production areas. Organizing new sections designed for the output of consumer goods will make it possible to increase their volume and improve the quality of the items.

#### **Baltic Yard Production Association**

The association is carrying out a program of specific measures to protect the water and air basin from pollution. The estimated cost alone of constructing sewage treatment plants for production/rain runoff with the networks and pumping plants, which will make it possible to stop the discharge of sewage into the Neva, is 4,245,000 rubles. The data published in the newspaper *BALTIYETS* last year, for example, indicate the extreme importance of the work being done to improve the ecological situation. The yard recorded 543 sources of air pollution, and of them only 116 are equipped with purification structures. The number of harmful substances emitted into the atmosphere by all permanent sources reaches 2,902 t/yr, and moreover, without purification, 1,028 tons are emitted, and 1,874 tons arrive at the purification structures (of them, 1,436 tons are trapped and rendered harmless).

#### **Navashinskiy Oka Shipyard**

Because of the rise in the minimum amount of pensions this year, social insurance withholdings have been increased from 14 to 18.2%. The cost of the goods produced is rising by a corresponding sum, and profit is naturally reduced. This leads to a reduction of hundreds of thousands of rubles in all the funds, including the production development fund, the social development fund and the material incentive fund. The yard sees the way out of this situation in reducing production cost, conserving all types of resources and reducing the output of unprofitable goods.

#### **Feodosiya Production Association imeni 26th CPSU Congress**

Technological and organizational efficiency suggestions for production and improvement of work conditions directly affect the results of the association's activity. Among the important innovations in this plan are work on organizing flow-position shipbuilding, introducing technology and equipment for vibrocleaning of hull structures to remove welding stress, etc. Nevertheless, in 1989 alone, over 300,000 rubles were allotted from the wage fund for additional payments for work under hazardous conditions. Solving this problem should contribute to carrying out the program for complete efficiency at the work places for the next five-year plan. A sharp reduction in all unproductive losses, including that resulting from improving work conditions, will make it possible to increase the cost-accounting income of the entire collective.

#### **Kherson Shipbuilding Production Association imeni 60th Anniversary of the Lenin Komsomol**

An analysis of production injury for the first six months of 1989, as compared with the same period in 1988, showed a reduction in the injury indicators: with respect to the frequency coefficient—by 42%, the gravity coefficient—by 8%, and the absolute loss of work days due to injury—by 48%. Of course, in this matter, statistics should not be reassuring. Each case of injury causes the suffering of a specific individual. As analysis shows, the main reasons for production injuries are workers' violations of the requirements of instructions on labor safety, lack of proper monitoring of dangerous work, faulty equipment, insufficient mechanization of heavy and dangerous operations and workers' disregarding devices for individual protection.

#### **Zaliv Shipyard imeni B.Ye. Butoma**

The yard has drawn up the Zhilye-2000 program. In the 13th Five-Year Plan; it is planned to turn over 86,000 m<sup>2</sup> of housing, and in the 14th—84,000. The basic areas will be introduced through funds for the development of the enterprise and social-everyday purposes. Cooperative construction and individual building are being activated. Along with other enterprises, Zaliv is participating in the creation of a polygon to manufacture monolithic keramzit concrete and blocks made of it. This ensures obtaining materials needed to fulfill the program for construction by the economic method, as well as for individual builders.

#### **Dalzavod Production Association**

What are the most important, primary problems for the plant's trade union committee to solve in the next few years? Sociological studies yielded the following results: improve housing conditions—66.9% of those queried, improving work conditions—56.7%, concern for the health of the workers—55.6%, ensuring fairness in the distribution of material welfare—51.8%, concern for the health of the children of the Dalzavod workers—31.4%, drawing workers in to management of the enterprise—26.6%, concern for families poorly provided for—25.5%, and improving socialist competition—4.3%. The people require specific things, real help. Among these solutions precisely is a decree in accordance with which women working at the enterprise and having young children will be paid 50 rubles a month each until the child reaches the age of three years. The possibility of extending the leave for young mothers to care for their children is specified. Single mothers are to be paid 75 rubles a month. This proposal was introduced beginning on 1 January 1990.

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### Implementing Shipbuilding Conversion Discussed

90SV0042A Leningrad SUDOSTROYENIYE  
in Russian No 7, Jul 90 pp 28-29

[Article by A.N. Rudenko and Yu. A. Kitsenko: "Ways To Convert Shipbuilding"; editorial comment]

[Text] One of the noblest goals of the perestroyka policy is to reduce armament expenditures. The conversion strategy must be selected correctly for industry to make the transition to producing an assortment of consumer products less painful.

In the first place, in our opinion, the concept of carrying out the conversion, expressed in the Law or Social State Program, must be worked out. It should reflect the volumes of defense products removed from production, the priorities for the world output proposed for development, the sources of material resources and the means for re-equipping industry.

An incorrectly chosen strategy for carrying out the conversion can have a ruinous effect even on a stable economy, not to mention one in disbalance. It is, after all, a question of the fate of thousands of enterprises which in many ways determines the economic face of the country. Respecializing expensive, complex production facilities and adjusting the work cycle to the output of simple items require, in the first place, expenditures commensurate with the saving from releasing the military orders. From this come expenditures for radical renovation of the enterprises and retraining the personnel and for planning and developing new products and setting up ties with other suppliers. In a complete shift of goods produced, valuable qualities are lost—the balance and rhythm of production, production experience, and uniformity of the equipment and site loads. This inevitably leads to a reduction in labor productivity.

The unfortunate state of the country's economy as a whole is presently making a particularly unfavorable mark on the conversion process. The violation of contractual obligations resulting from strikes, the self-insulation of individual regions, and the carrying out of urgent ecological measures leads, under the conditions of production monopolization, to tremendous losses. For example, the failure to supply generators from Armenia led to several hundreds of thousands of rubles loss for the Leninskaya Kuznitsa plant. Under the crisis conditions of the financial-credit system, the interrelations between the enterprises are increasingly taking on the features of an exchange in kind. After all, when even similar types of products are substituted (navy ship—civilian ship), direct relations must be set up with hundreds of new suppliers.

The mass departure of the most highly skilled workers to cooperatives has made the personnel problem particularly acute, especially under the conditions of the

shortage of labor resources. This immediately caused a sharp reduction in the practical potentials for the basic types of production.

The process of conversion in shipbuilding also has its own specific problems. It is scarcely efficient to assemble small consumer goods at huge specialized facilities with covered slipways. It is also clear that it is difficult for an enterprise with small-series production organization to make the transition to mass output. Therefore, for building berths, with their expensive buildings and structures, and with a basic mass of workers in assembling, welding and installation occupations, transition to the output of civilian shipbuilding is simply the most efficient. It is no secret, however, that to compensate for the losses (according to the indicator of normative-net output—NChP) from taking away the military order, 5-7 civilian ships must be built. In order to have a sharp increase in civilian shipbuilding volumes, there must be fixed, specialized production areas, which inevitably requires setting up and equipping new production sections. This involves considerable capital investments and, naturally, a certain length of time to put the sections into operation. With a virtually inevitable drop, in this period, of the production volume in shipbuilding, the output volume of machine building and consumer goods must be increased to compensate for the losses.

There are obviously two ways to convert shipbuilding: a uniform reduction in military orders for all the sector's enterprises or concentration of military goods production in some of the plants and converting the rest to output for civilian purposes. The second way seems more promising, since in this case, without sizable additional expenditures, the country's necessary defense capability will be ensured, and at the same time, respecialization of existing enterprises can be purposefully implemented. Quite an important task in this is developing highly profitable ship designs. This, of course, also requires time and money.

The first enterprises that should be converted are those where the basic volume was occupied even before by the production of goods for world purposes. One of these enterprises is "Leninskaya Kuznitsa." Reshaping the yard provides for full specialization of production to build fishing boats and self-powered dredgers.

Construction of medium-tonnage freezer trawlers and small fishing boats is planned. The design documentation for them is now at the development stage. The main problem lies in outfitting the ships with refrigerating-freezing and industrial equipment, and with diesel-reducer units. The changes taking place in economic interrelations between states, including between the CEMA member countries, make problematical both purchasing this equipment and supplying refrigerator trawlers for coastal catches for export. It is possible that the designs will have to be duplicated, in order to use domestic equipment.

As the result of ceasing the output of defense products and reducing the number of series ships, the transition to developing new-generation ships will at first inevitably cause a drop in the rates of increasing shipbuilding volumes. To make up for the volumes due to taking away defense output, the construction of fishing ships will have to be increased in a proportion of approximately 1:6. At the same time, the transition to new designs will diminish the throughput capacity of the building berth stations and additional expenditures will be required to rebuild production facilities, with the introduction of technology new in principle.

To make the transition to producing ships made up of volume-dense structures, there must be a new enclosed slipway, and an additional production wing must be constructed to assemble large units in zonal blocks and to manufacture industrial fishing equipment. Increasing the output of consumer goods also entails putting a specialized shop into operation. These objects are a component of the plan to ensure the plant's fulfillment of the production volume growth rates outlined for the 13th Five-Year Plan.

Considering the sizable demand for medium-tonnage fishing boats with freezer units, and the shortage of freely convertible currency, measures must be taken which touch upon the prerogatives of a number of ministries and departments:

1. Expand the supply of PMTB-type noncombustible insulation and new types of insulation to provide for the building of fishing boats.
2. Develop the output of ship diesel-reducer units with a power of 1460-2000 kw and expand the production of ship diesel-generators with a power of 150, 200 and 300 kw.
3. Implement the comprehensive supply of ship refrigeration units with compressors having a refrigeration capacity of 200-250 kw/hr.
4. Develop the production of high-speed diesels and generators (1000 rpm, 1500 rpm) with increased engine life, low fuel consumption and a low noise level for modern ship diesel-generators with a power of 100-300 kw.
5. Develop the output of continuously acting freezer equipment with a productivity of 1-1.2 t/hr for ships of the fishing industry fleet, based on the corresponding equipment for shore use.
6. Manufacture industrial ship winches with a traction force from 61 to 390 kN.
7. Expand the production of plastic pipes, cladding elements, ventilation ducts, vibration-absorbing materials, etc.

At the same time, maximum use should be made of the advantages afforded by conversion. In the first place, it is a question of expanding the flow-position method of

shipbuilding, using the most advanced technology. After all, to compensate for the economic losses due to conversion, there must be, as has already been indicated, an increase in series production of civilian ships and the intensiveness of their construction cycles. It is precisely for this purpose that the conditions have been created for widescale use of volume-dense structures, zonal blocks and units and modular cladding of the compartments. The possibility for cooperation between the sectorial enterprises in manufacturing various assembly units has also been expanded. Group output of parts for production is also going to replace unit output. At the same time, there must be maximum use of the technological equipment freed—according to preliminary estimates, up to 50% of the equipment can be used after appropriate modernization. There is a possibility of improving the quality of the ships being built, as for example, by using efficient, highly productive stands to flush the pipes of the hydraulic system.

In conclusion, it should once more be emphasized that the State Program for Conversion must be immediately drawn up and adopted. Conversion should be implemented gradually, through mutually coordinated transition of the enterprises of many sectors of industry to the output of new products. In developing world output, maximum use should be made of the scientific-technical achievements of the military-industrial complex.

**From the editors.** The State Program for Conversion in 1991-1995 is now being worked out.

A considerable role is being assigned to conversion processes in developing the following directions:

- production of durable consumer goods, corresponding to the world technical level;
- intensified electronification of production facilities, creative activity and the everyday life of the population;
- ensuring a steady trend toward a rise in the scientific-technical level and the quality of civilian machine building, based on widescale technological interaction and production cooperation of defense and civilian machine building;
- an increase in the output of equipment for sectors processing agricultural output, to accelerate re-equipment, on a new technical basis, of all the country's light industry, as well as commercial and public catering enterprises;
- an increase in the production of science-intensive types of medical equipment and means of communication;
- creation of systems of equipment and technological processes in the sphere of environmental protection;
- the development of civilian aircraft and shipbuilding.

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### Civilian Contract Use of Military Aircraft

90UM0763A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
22 Jul 90 p 4

[Article by Lt Col B. Baranov: "A 'Military' Cargo - Strawberries"; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Military transport aircraft have accomplished their first long-range flights to Armenia. They delivered their freight to the area struck by the earthquake.

"We were quite sure that proper organization would enable us to successfully accomplish the dual missions of combat training and rendering of aid to the economy," said Lieutenant Colonel S. Burmistrov, Political Department chief. "Now there can be no doubt that our aviators can function as reliable partners of 'civilian' enterprises and organizations. There is a financial advantage, on top of that. Last year we earned about a million rubles; thirty percent of that amount went into the unit's account. That made it possible for us to join a youth housing cooperative. As early as this year we will build several dozen apartments and social culture and consumer facilities for families of servicemen."

However, the fact is that management officials in the town's enterprises and associations are apprehensive about entering into business contracts with military pilots. They are being penny-wise and pound-foolish.

Nevertheless, the matter is progressing. Modern enterprising people see the military as highly organized, responsive, and reliable, and tend to increase their dealings with them as time goes on. For example, the

management of the Khimplast Production Association recently asked for assistance on the occasion of a breakdown in supply of raw materials to the enterprises, a development which threatened to cause sizeable losses. The flyers were able to deliver several tons of material in only six hours. As a result, there was no interruption in production.

The geographic area covered by these flights is expanding with each passing day. Flights have been extended far beyond the republic's borders: Central Asia, Kamchatka, and other points in the country. Present plans call for flights to Poland to fly back strawberries and to Bulgaria to return with tomatoes.

"We are experiencing quite a bit of trouble," continued Lieutenant Colonel S. Burmistrov, "with the Ministry of Civil Aviation. You can see why, considering that we are in competition with it. We are more mobile, being able to set out on short notice for any destination in the Union. The Communist Party obkom and gorispolkom recently concluded an agreement with the unit's authorities to fly in citrus fruits from capitalist countries. What happened next? The military aviators were quoted such an exorbitant price for use of the airfields that we had to drop the idea. Would this not be a good time to bring in fresh fruits and vegetables from the southern part of our country? In so doing, the flyers would be supplying not only this town, but a considerable part of the republic's population as well."

Be that as it may, I believe that everyone will agree that this particular undertaking should be continued and developed for the good of the republic's economy and the good of the people.

**Pre-Draft Training to Be Initiated**

90UM0861A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
19 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report on interview of Colonel V. Denisov, department chief of a Directorate of the Ground Forces Main Staff, by N. Burbyga: "The Preliminary Military Training Has Been Canceled"]

[Text] **The preliminary military training -target of so much public criticism of recent years—has been canceled. The USSR Minister of Defense and the USSR State Committee for Public Education Chairman issued joint orders introducing instead the pre-enlistment training for young men, effective as of 1 September 1990.**

At the request of the IZVESTIYA, Colonel V. Denisov, chief of the Ground Forces Main Staff Directorate commented on the change.

[V. Denisov] The preliminary military training was targeted basically at preparing our young men for their service in the military. However, the pre-enlistment training sets a larger task, namely, to raise a USSR citizen who would be healthy, physically robust and enduring, with strong moral convictions and ready to fulfill conscientiously his patriotic duty—to defend his motherland.

The training will be conducted in secondary, vocational, and special vocational and technical schools either during a monthly "Day of the Draftee" (5 to 6 hours), or on a weekly basis (1 to 2 hours). A combination of the two ways is possible. The program of instruction can be amended, depending on the level of the students and the presence or the state of the educational materials and facilities.

The program was designed by a specially designated group. Apart from military experts there were representatives of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the USSR Ministry of Health, and the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for Cooperation with the Armed Forces] Central Committee. Among the main features of the program there is a considerable reduction in the time allocated for familiarization with the combat and drill training and with various regulations. Instead, it puts more emphasis on physical training. Field training related to the basics of the military science and of the military service will take place primarily during field training practice.

[N. Burbyga] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, everything is more or less clear with respect to the physical training. But who are you going to employ to enforce the moral education?

[V. Denisov] We do have the necessary people—graduates of pedagogical institutes. We will also involve the reserve officers and there are sufficient numbers of those due to the reduction in force in the military. Still, I know this is not enough. We have to develop the intercurricular relations and that is where the problem lies. But we think that after the pre-enlistment training is introduced, some of the teachers and students will change their perception of the subject as something unnecessary. That will depend on how

the concrete work is conducted locally, on whether the training instructors are selected correctly, on whether there are conditions to help them work normally, as well as on the aid and support rendered to them. I also think that these changes will help to diminish the tension existing among some teachers and to remove the conflict between the military instructors and other teachers. This especially concerns the issues of pay and workload.

[N. Burbyga] We know that work is going on preparing the draft decree of the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Pre-enlistment Training for Young Men". What was the reason for the joint orders of the USSR Minister of Defense and the USSR State Committee for Public Education Chairman "On Improvement in the Pre-enlistment Training of Men—School Students" to appear before the above-mentioned decree?

[V. Denisov] It was a forced measure. The thing is that the decree of the Council of Ministers may be passed only after the USSR Supreme Soviet approves the USSR laws "On Defense" and "On General Military Conscription and Military Service". The drafts of those laws have been prepared to be considered at the fall session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[N. Burbyga] And my last question: what will the pre-enlistment training centers be like?

[V. Denisov] As a rule, the pre-enlistment training centers should be set up by public education organs on the basis of educational establishments, such as secondary and vocational schools and special vocational and technical schools. They have the necessary training materials and facilities and they also have the possibilities to develop them. In this way we will be able to cut down on the materials and finances involved in setting up and equipping the facilities in every school. The money saved will become available for other needs and that is especially important in small-size schools. Everything will depend on the local conditions and possibilities.

The training centers may become foundations for the developing military and patriotic clubs, for reconnaissance work, and for the help-the-war-veterans activities. We hope that they will find support among the parents who cannot be indifferent to what their sons are doing in their free time.

Schools whose students can be trained in the training centers will be able to cut down on the number of military instructors. Their entire payroll will be handed over to the local public education organs. Therefore, no additional financing will be needed.

After my conversation with V. Denisov I called a few schools in Moscow. The teachers I talked to were all of the same opinion: "Yes, we heard about some changes in preparing the boys for their military service. But we have no idea how it will be done and in what way it will be different from what we had before. Neither do we have any programs or textbooks for the pre-enlistment training. And that means that all the explanations will be again as amateurish as before..."

### Study on Fate of Polish POWs, Internees

90UM0555A Moscow VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY  
ZHURNAL in Russian No 3, Mar 1990 (signed to press  
26 Feb 90) pp 38-42

[Article by Major S.N. Osipov, graduate student at the Institute of Military History of the USSR Ministry of Defense: "Autumn 1939: On the Question of Polish Prisoners of War"]

[Text] Over a half century separates us from the tragic events in autumn 1939 which marked a beginning to the bloodiest war in the history of mankind. During this time thousands of historians, journalists and writers have devoted their works to analyzing the military-political situation which preceded the war. Probably not only every day but also every hour of the first months of the war has been closely studied and described and the results of the fighting, the military and political consequences of the defeat of Poland have been assessed. The archives are revealing their secrets and there is a broadening exchange of information between countries and peoples. As a result, analysis is being extended and an understanding of the reasons, goals, character and results of the war is becoming more encompassing. At the same time, the curtain of secrecy has not been lifted from many questions, many events of the past have become arguments in the modern ideological struggle and the same facts have been given a varying assessment and interpretation depending upon political considerations. This applies fully to the entry of Soviet troops into the territory of Western Belorussia and Western Ukraine and the events related to this. Thus, Doctor of Historical Sciences V.M. Berezhev, who for a number of years worked as Stalin's translator, has said: "As many accusations as we have already leveled against Stalin, there are things where we protect him. Why? Ultimately our current leadership does not bear responsibility for this or for the millions of victims in the Stalinist repressions."<sup>1</sup> Among those repressed were thousands of Polish soldiers and officers who by 29 September 1939 had become prisoners of war. They all passed through the camps, many perished and the fate of others is still unknown.

The question of the quantity and fate of the Polish POWs who in 1939 ended up in the USSR has a history that goes back a long ways. It arose for the first time in the autumn of 1941 in the organizing of the so-called Anders Army.<sup>2</sup> During this period, as was asserted by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, referring to Western sources, it was a question of 250,000 POWs.<sup>3</sup> To Anders's question of the fate of 10,000 Polish officers, the article states, Stalin supposedly replied that they had fled, possibly, into Manchuria.

Interest in the fate of the Polish POWs came up a second time on the occasion of an announcement from Berlin on 13 March 1943 on the graves in Katyn and here it was asserted that the executions were carried out by the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] bodies in the spring of 1940. The Polish emigre government on 20 March 1943

requested that the USSR government and the International Red Cross Committee investigate the given fact. In reply, the Soviet government accused the Polish emigre government of collaborating with Hitler and on 25 March 1943 broke off diplomatic relations with it. During 1943, the Germans created their own commission and exhumed around 4,000 bodies. According to their version, they found 3,184 documents making it possible along with the results of the pathologicoanatomic examination, to date the murder to the spring of 1940. The commission's conclusions were widely employed in the Gobbels propaganda.

The last time they officially turned to this problem was in February 1946 at the Nuremberg Trial. After the liberation of the Katyn region by the Soviet troops, a commission worked there under the leadership of Academician N.N. Burdenko and on the basis of its conclusions the Soviet side incorporated in the charges a point accusing the German leadership of murdering 11,000 Polish officers in August-September 1941. As a result of a court investigation, this point in the charges was not considered proven and for this reason not proven in the sentence.

Subsequently, interest in the question of the fate of the Polish prisoners of war waxed and waned in a directly proportional dependence upon the attention in the ideological struggle and this alone shows the insufficient objectivity of its treatment by both sides. Presently the problem of the Polish POWs is being discussed not in isolation but rather in a context of purging our historical notions of the stereotypes of Stalinism, from the stance of the new political thinking, and this provides an opportunity to bring it as close as possible to the truth. However, in freeing ourselves from some stereotypes, it is very important not to fall under the influence of others. The recent publications have basically been based on the memoirs of participants in those events and these have often been extremely contradictory. For example, V. Abarinov in the article "Around Katyn" relies on a report published in Poland by Capt J. Czapski, the representative of Gen Anders in investigating the captured Polish officers disappearing on Soviet territory and a conversation with L.F. Raykhman, a former NKVD officer who was directly involved in this question. The article gives information on 6,000-12,000 officers and sergeants who were, possibly, dispatched via Nakhodka to Kolyma and more than 5,000 officers supposedly concentrated on Zemlya Frantsa-Iosifa and many exiled to Novaya Zemlya, Kamchatka and Chukotka. Moreover, a story is given about the sinking of enormous barges (with 1,700-2,000 POWs on each) off the northern islands. It is a question of a total of some 15,000 prisoners, including 8,000 officers. All the figures are taken from the Czapski report, while Raykhman virtually denies them.<sup>4</sup> The numerous publications in the West are also basically founded on memoirs, logical constructs and dubious documents. Thus, the West German magazine 7 TAGE quotes a report from Tartakov over the name of Gens Zarubin and Raykhman concerning the elimination of the camps in Kozelsk, Ostasghkov and Starobelsk<sup>5</sup> and which L.F. Raykhman himself, who in 1940 held only the rank of a major,\* authoritatively calls spurious.<sup>6</sup> Serious researchers, both in our country and

abroad, have been in no rush to draw conclusions. For example, I. Fleischhauer, a West German scientist who has relied solely on verified facts and documents, is much more cautious in her assessments than many of our writers.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, it must be admitted that contributing to this has been the extended silence by the official bodies and certain leading scientists. Many of them feel that in maintaining a "figure of silence" as regards all the troubles of the 1939 Soviet-German Pact, we undermine trust in our policy and our science, forcing one to think that these are all based on untruth.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, this "figure of silence" which in no way provides protection against the not always just criticism of friends, does not make it possible to unmask the outright falsifications and insinuations of our enemies.

Let us endeavor to examine the question of the fate of the Polish POWs in relying solely on the verified facts and the archival documents.

A week after the invasion of Poland by German troops, in the USSR under the guise of "major training assemblies" a covert mobilization started. Two fronts were established: the Ukrainian (commander, Army Cmdr 1st Rank S.K. Timoshenko) and the Belorussian (commander, Army Cmdr 2d Rank M.P. Kovalev) with a total of 600,000 men.<sup>9</sup> On 14 September, by a directive of the people's commissar of defense, the troops were given the task on 16 September by the end of the day to covertly concentrate and be ready to cross the frontier. Simultaneously with this, on 15 September, the RKKA [Worker-Peasant Red Army] General Staff issued an order which established the locations of POW camps.<sup>10</sup> For the Belorussian Front, these were the stations of Drut, Khyustino, Zhlobin; for the Ukrainian the stations of Iseha, Pogrebishchi, Khirovka and Khorobichi. According to the order, distribution camps were to be organized in Putivl (Kiev Special Military District) and in Kozelsk (Belorussian Special Military District).

For receiving and distributing POWs, the USSR NKVD set up its own network of 10 distribution camps which were located as follows:<sup>11</sup>

1. Optina Pustyn (Kozelsk Station)	—For 10,000 men
2. Putivl	"
3. Nilova Pustyn (Ostashkov Station)	"
4. Kozelshchina (Poltava Oblast)	"
5. Starobelsk (Donetsk Oblast)	—For 8,000 men
6. Pavlushev Bor (Babyshevo Station)	—For 10,000 men
7. Yuzhskiy Camp (Vyazniki in Gorkiy Oblast)	—For 4,000 men
8. Oran Camp (Gorkiy Oblast)	—For 6,000 men
9. Vologda Camp	—Unknown
10. Gryazovets Camp	—Unknown

That the Polish POWs were to be dealt with in accord with the standards of international law can be seen from the food rations approved on 20 September 1939 by the Economic Council under the USSR SNK [Council of People's Commissars] for POWs: 800 gm of bread, 75

gm of meat, 50 gm of fish, 30 gm of vegetable oil and so forth, right down to pepper per man per day.<sup>12</sup> Such food rations show as a minimum the loyal attitude toward the Polish POWs in that period. As is known, our own "enemies of the people" were fed much worse.

The prepared camps did not have long to wait for business. On 17 September at 0500 hours, the Soviet troops crossed the Polish border. The reasons for the offensive were the most diverse from such a one as "assisting the rebel workers and peasants of Belorussia and Poland in overthrowing the yoke of the landowners and capitalists" to "preventing the capture of Belorussian territory by Germany." The troops were ordered "by a lightning-like, crushing blow to defeat the Pan-bourgeois troops," but at the same time it was pointed out that "we go not as conquerors but rather as the liberators of our brother Belorussians, Ukrainians and Polish workers." Hence, the contradictoriness and inconsistency in the operations of the troops. Incidentally, the actions of the Polish Army were also contradictory. On 17 September, Mar Smigly-Rydz issued the order which stated: "Do not engage the Soviets in battle, put up resistance only in instances...of attempts to disarm our units.... The units which are approached by the Soviets should initiate talks with them in the aim of withdrawing our garrisons into Romania and Hungary."<sup>13</sup>

Certainly, under the conditions of the virtually complete collapse of command not all the units received this order, not all those who received it carried it out and our troops were unable to execute the conditions set out in the order. For this reason, there were clashes, battles and sometimes rather fierce ones. As a result, by 29 September, our losses were 737 men killed and 1,826 wounded with the Poles losing approximately the same number.<sup>14</sup> Even on 22 September 1939, the Operations Summary of the RKKA General Staff stated that according to incomplete data, from 17 through 21 September, 120,000 soldiers and officers of the Polish Army had been taken prisoner.<sup>15</sup> All the Polish units were disarmed and the servicemen interned.

On 27 September 1939, the reception camps in the Ukraine had received 44,216 POWs and the reception camps of Belorussia some 19,909. A total of 64,125 men, including, according to incomplete data, some 6,443 officers and policemen. Out of the total number received some 46,304 were dispatched to the distribution camps, including 9,064 to the Putivl, 6,270 to Kozelsk, 7,235 to Starobelsk, 7,005 to Yuzhskiy, 8,955 to Kozelsk (in the document thus. Probably, Kozelshchina.—S.O.) and 7,775 to Ostashkov.<sup>16</sup>

At any given moment, it is difficult to set the precise number of POWs in a specific camp as the men were constantly in motion. For example, on 19 October 1939, the Starobelsk Camp released 1,783 soldiers and junior commanders, sent 2,329 to other camps, with 4,824 men remaining in the camp. The Yukhnov Camp released 3,948 men, sent 960 to the mines while the remaining 3,183 stayed in the camp. As of this moment, a total of

40,729 men were released, and there were 85,074 persons in the camps and receiving stations, including 23,163 in the Rovno Camp (natives of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia to be released); 5,267 at the installations of the Narkomchermet [People's Commissariat of Ferrous Metallurgy]; 1,157 refugees; 8,472 officer personnel; 4,678 police; 41,819 rank-and-file to be exchanged with Germany; and 518 natives of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia to be released in the camps, aside from Rovno.<sup>17</sup>

Probably the point "to be exchanged with Germany" requires explanation. On 14 October 1939, the USSR SNK adopted a decree on exchanging Polish POWs with Germany. There was to be an exchange of servicemen born on the territory ceded respectively to Germany or to the USSR. The exchange was carried out and as a result on 15 November 1939, 37,133 men were turned over to Germany and 13,544 men were accepted from it.<sup>18</sup> No matter how bitter this truth, we do not have the right to overlook it as this was a historical fact and without these figures our calculation would be incomplete.

Thus, it can be said with absolute certainty that as of 15 November 1939, the USSR did not have over 61,485 Polish POWs, including 8,472 officers. With less certainty, it can be said that up to the end of 1939, another 23,681 natives of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia were released. In this instance, 37,804 men remain, including 8,472 officers, 4,678 police and 1,157 refugees. If it is assumed that all 13,544 natives of the Western regions of the Ukraine and Belorussia exchanged with Germany were released, then only 24,260 Polish POWs and refugees should remain in the camp. As we see, even at this stage, little remains of the 250,000 POWs mentioned in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, the field of search is significantly narrowed and the number of possible victims in Katyn, Kolyma and the northern islands becomes more specific.

The documents available at the present moment do not make it possible to certainly determine the location of the Polish POWs in 1940 and the beginning of 1941. After such a long interruption, the first documentary evidence about them dates to August 1941, to the beginning of the forming of the Anders Army and this was carried out from August 1941 after the concluding of the agreement with the Polish emigree government. The army staff was located in the town of Buzuluk and there were training centers in Totsk and Tatishchevo. The total size of the formation initially was set at 30,000 men, but then the Soviet government agreed with the proposal of Gen Sikorski to increase the army to 96,000 in order to field six rifle divisions.<sup>19</sup> The Polish units were formed from various contingents, including Poles living on USSR territory; refugees who had fled from the Nazi yoke; former Polish POWs. In the Anders Army, the latter comprised a significant portion of the rank-and-file and NCO personnel and virtually all officer personnel. This is confirmed by a phrase from the

already mentioned report of J. Czapski on the "thousands of colleagues returning from the camps and prisons." Moreover, the Decree of the GKO [State Defense Committee] of 16 August 1941 ordered the USSR NKVD, in releasing the former Polish POWs and internees from the camps and prisons to pay a one-shot monetary assistance in the following amounts: 10,000 rubles for generals, 5,000 for colonels, 3,000 for lieutenant colonels and majors, 2,000 rubles for remaining officers and 500 rubles for the junior command and rank-and-file personnel. Some 15 million rubles were provided for these purposes.

On 7 September 1941, Gen Anders reported to Moscow that the organizing of the 5th and 6th Division was going on successfully, over 27,000 men, including 1,800 officers, had arrived or were en route. Moreover, in agreement with the Soviet government, some 200 Polish pilots were dispatched to England for manning the Polish air units. By February 1942, the Polish Army already numbered 73,145 men. In March-September 1942, upon the proposal of Anders, the Soviet government agreed to evacuate the Polish Army to Iran and this was reinforced by a protocol of 31 July 1942. A total of 75,491 Polish servicemen and 37,756 members of their families were evacuated.<sup>20</sup>

We still cannot say precisely how many former Polish POWs there were among these evacuees, but probably at least 50 percent of all the servicemen, including 4,000-5,000 officers. Subsequently, in 1943-1944, a certain number of former Polish POWs was included in the 1st Polish Division imeni T. Kosciuszko and the I Polish Corps.

Thus, the reviewed material leaves unclear the fate of approximately 10,000 Polish POWs, including 3,000 or 4,000 officers. These figures differ by several-fold from all given in the mentioned and other publications by Soviet and foreign authors. Archival documents lie at the basis of the calculation.

The current research is not aimed at justifying, even indirectly, the crimes of Stalinism. Any human life is invaluable and here it was a question of the fates and lives of thousands of persons. Justice requires a clear and correct answer to the question of the fate of each Polish POW as the mothers have the right to know where the graves of their sons lie and the wives and children as to who is guilty of the death of their husbands and fathers. But it is immoral to see just a sensational fact in this tragedy. Only a balanced and honest reply is possible for such questions and this reply must be free of subjective feeling and the overtone of sensationalism.

#### Footnotes

1. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 8 August 1989.
2. The Polish Army constituted in 1941-1942 upon an agreement between the USSR and the Polish emigree government. In August 1942, it was evacuated to the Near East. It participated in fighting on the Western Front.

3. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, 21 May 1989.
4. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 6 September 1989.
5. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, 21 May 1989.

\* Although a State Security major was the equivalent of a RKKA major general, the documents did not refer to this rank.

6. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 6 September 1989.
7. Ibid., 16 August 1989.
8. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 8 August 1989.
9. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 17 September 1989.
10. TsGASA, folio 40443, inv. 1, file 175, sheet 1.
11. Ibid., sheet 2.
12. Ibid., sheet 5.
13. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 17 September 1989.
14. Ibid.
15. TsGASA, folio 33987, inv. 3, file 1226, sheet 124.
16. Ibid., folio 40443, inv. 1, file 175, sheets 1-6.
17. Ibid., sheet 29.
18. Ibid., sheet 50.
19. VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL, No 9, 1959, p 58.
20. Ibid., pp 58-59.

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### Trotsky's Negative Influence on Naval Policy

90UM0555B Moscow VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL in Russian No 3, Mar 1990 (signed to press 26 Feb 90) pp 52-57

[Article prepared by Senior Warrant Officer N.Yu. Berzovskiy, candidate of historical sciences: "How Trotsky & Co. Ruined the Navy"]

[Text]

### Note on the Navy\* to the Chairman of the Republic Revolutionary Military Council, Comrade Trotsky

From the moment of the first political upheaval—the February Revolution—up to the present, no matter how valorous and significant individual episodes were on the ocean and sea fronts in the period of the Civil War, the Navy has steadily continued to slip downwards.

A synthesis of extraordinary disasters and the decline which has befallen the naval force of Russia consists chiefly in the situation that the flow of ideas and feelings which seized the best portion of the proletariat from the

start of the revolution naturally included the sailors, and the further movement of this flow neither by the brief and weak actions of the government or by the most conscious part of the sailors was not directed into a channel safe for the healthy life of the Navy and providing the full maintaining of the Republic's military might. The ideas of order and discipline were drowned in revolutionary phraseology and the spirit of disobedience which arose and picked up for completely understandable reasons at the beginning of the revolution was not completely extinguished over the entire Civil War by decisive and firm measures among which one would put:

- a) The publishing of Naval Regulations;
- b) The screening of command personnel and the leaving in service of only that personnel the loyalty of whom to the new order does not come under suspicion;
- c) The screening of the commissar;
- d) The merciless eradication of demagoguery in terms of the remaining command personnel and the creation for them of a unassailable position;
- e) The training of new personnel capable of relieving the direct participants in the state coup.

I. We should not limit ourselves to a reference to this general cause in examining the complex process of the disintegration of the Navy. During the period before the end of the Civil War, since the start of the revolution, an exceptional role, in addition, has been played by the following:

- 1) The lack of a unified and coordinated plan of political work for all the fronts due to insufficient attention paid to the Navy by the central political bodies.
- 2) The absence of a firm and definite naval policy, even in terms of the cradle of the Navy, the Baltic Sea, on the bases of a political and strategic assessment of the Baltic Theater; the Baltic Fleet must be viewed as the basis for the subsequent build-up of the Republic's fleets.
- 3) The absence of an ordered and uniform system for the command and control of the fleets and flotillas as command has been of a random and sporadic sort both in terms of the consumption of material and the shipbuilding and repair programs as well as in terms of service.
- 4) Indications that central attention had been focused on front work and general state construction under the exceptionally harsh conditions of the struggle could be recognized as mitigating but not justifying circumstances for, in the first place, the Navy is an important state military artery and (secondly)...for this they should have promptly established a powerful, highly authoritative naval political center worthy of heading and uniting the naval department and giving it permanent forms of existence in all regards.

II. In the period after the Civil War, the designated factors were exacerbated by the below-given:

- 1) By the absence of a law on the navy as an incentive for a definite naval policy of the Republic on the seas.

- 2) By the continuing inertia in terms of the Navy by the central political bodies.
- 3) The transferring of the blame in one form or another from the actual instigators of the Kronshtadt events and the active participants to all the personnel of the fleets and permitting an outburst of cheap demagoguery against all sailors and as a result of this the depressed morale of the personnel as a whole.
- 4) By keeping the period for screening the sailors in impossibly short intervals and hence the insufficient carefulness in carrying this out.
- 5) The breaking up of the Naval Commissariat and the subordinating of the Navy to the Army in all terms and which is profoundly contradictory to naval historical experience and absolutely unjustified by economic considerations.
- 6) By determining the ship crews of the fleets not on the bases of one or another naval policy of the Republic at sea but rather from a consideration of rations. This solution which is the inverse of what should be, with the constant fluctuations toward a reduction in the number of rations supplied to the Navy at the same time with a reduction in the operational tasks, on the one hand, clearly doomed these latter [the tasks] to intentional infeasibility and, on the other, force the Navy to give up a whole series of auxiliary bodies inseparably linked with its combat readiness.
- 7) By moving the Republic Naval Staff from the center to the periphery thereby divorcing it from the state center and complicating the resolution of questions which depended upon the main administrations and centers and, finally, which made command and control of the individual fleets extremely difficult.
- 8) The failure to incorporate the port shops and plants engaged in repairing ships, naval artillery, manufacturing artillery supplies and ammunition, barrage and Whitehead mines in the network of state enterprises. This...has done harm...to the main assistants in the combat training of the fleet, for as a consequence of the exceptionally severe material situation the most valuable of the shop workers in terms of their special skills have left for institutions which provide better support for them.
- 9) By transferring the blame for state crimes committed by individuals of the command personnel to the entire corporation of the remnants of the former professional officers who in their majority in their 4-year service showed full loyalty to Soviet power and in their minority a profound belief in the proletarian ideology and in the republic; as a result a regular decline in the authority of the command personnel and the destruction of the belief in the possibility under similar conditions for creative work and the most profound decline in energy both among the persons subjected to unmerited repression as well as those who because of random circumstances succeeded in avoiding them.
- 10) The mythically absurd, most complete material deprivation of the command personnel and the old sailors (reenlisted personnel).

- 11) By the lack of coordination in demobilizing the naval personnel and the need to maintain a certain naval strength at sea.

Conclusions: Thus, by a brief survey of these general factors bringing the Fleet to its present state and on the basis of personal observations of the activities of the present-day Naval Center and familiarization with the state of affairs in the Baltic, Black Sea and Caspian Fleet [I] have reached the conclusion that the republic's Navy is undoubtedly threatened with a final demise, for:

- 1) All decisions taken in terms of the Navy after the end of the Civil War have basically proceeded from a review of the abnormality of its condition and not from the reasons causing this abnormality.
- 2) The complete subordination of the Navy to the Army has been the greatest state error from the scientific and academic viewpoint (the harsh historical examples of France, Germany and Russia) and from the practical viewpoint, considering that with the current state the Navy is receiving not that minimum without which it cannot exist but rather what remains from the Army in terms of personnel, logistics, pay and other types of supply.
- 3) The major interruptions or, putting it simply, the "dead space" in the supply of the Navy and, as a consequence, the destruction of a number of vital arteries for the Navy (the breaking up of the shops and plants with the ensuing irretrievable loss of highly-skilled shop workers for the Navy) in the not distant future will lead to the mothballing in port of the now operational paltry remnants of the fleet vessels and to the withering away of its auxiliary bodies...and defense will be deprived of its facilities.

In being perfectly aware, in the first place, that under the current conditions of the nation's economic situation, there can be no delusion over the possible expansion and construction of the Navy and secondly that the fleet for now should confront the main task of maintaining a nucleus which is insignificant in size but strong in spirit and knowledge, I assert that the only means for saving this nucleus and for creating conditions whereby the possibility is not excluded of creating under better circumstances a new Navy in all regards is:

- First: The immediate and complete removal of the Navy from subordination to the Army (leaving operational subordination on the spot);
- Second: Creating a powerful, highly-authoritative naval (political) center having the greatest trust of the government, with the transfer of this to the general state center;
- Third: Focusing the attention of this center on creating new personnel and which exclusively would provide the grounds for a future rebirth of the Navy and a fundamental eradication of all errors committed recently against the Navy and comprising the basis of a brief analysis of the present situation on the pages of the current note.

Chief of Naval Forces of the Black Sea and Assistant Commander of all the Armed Forces of the Ukraine and Crimea, Sailor E.S. Pantserzhanskiy  
18 November 1921

RESOLUTION: "I would request all members of the RVSR [Republic Revolutionary Military Council] to become familiar with the note and return it to me with brief comments.

L. Trotsky 21 November 1921<sup>1</sup>

In Trotsky's response to this thorough and revealing document, of course, it is not easy to see the anger and threat. But they were there. First of all, it was he who was denounced, he who together with the "company" had ruined the Republic's Navy. Trotsky did not tolerate criticism addressed at him, let alone denunciations. Having reached the apex of military leadership by sheer chance, he with his unbridled ambition and militant incompetence, in essence, deprived the Navy of its independence and battleworthiness. A political phrase-maker and intriguer, he had never listened to anyone except himself. In each comment directed at him, he saw the undermining of not merely his own authority but also an attack on Soviet power. Initially, this document aroused a storm of indignation in him. Instead of carefully studying the valid critical comments and the professional proposals, Trotsky summoned his circle and together with whom he had destroyed the nation urging "revolutionary vengeance." His "intemperate nature," repressive itch and a political phrase again replaced any need to take immediate concrete measures. And the Navy needed precisely practical, immediate measures and along before the "note" submitted to Trotsky.<sup>2</sup>

The experience of the Civil War had persuasively confirmed the importance of the sea theaters and the essential role of the Navy in ensuring the interests of the state. At the same time, the naval forces were largely used, due to the continental nature of the war, for supporting the ground forces and supplying their operations. Certain leaders and military chiefs, primarily Trotsky, abused this one-sided "focus" on the capabilities of the Navy and, as they say, pulled it apart piecemeal. Thus, the personnel of many ships not always justifiably was transferred on shore to fill out the ground formations while the ships themselves were disarmed and mothballed. This also weakened the Navy and was an unique adjustment for the losses which it suffered in the course of the Civil War and for an intervention. The RKKF [Worker-Peasant Red Navy] lost over 700 ships and vessels,<sup>3</sup> and was deprived of a number of naval bases and shipbuilding and repair enterprises, while the number of coastal defense guns was reduced almost by three-fold. Trotsky & Co. took advantage of this condition of the Navy in which it had ended up not without their help. With even greater activeness, they began to shape in military circles a distorted opinion about seapower as some secondary element in the defense system

of the Soviet state. The Kronstadt Revolt in March 1921 had caused an unjustified political mistrust of the sailors.

The negative attitude toward the Navy and the reticence to consider combat historical experience deriving first of all from the eccentric and unbalanced "chief Soviet military specialist," or more accurately the leader of the military department, L.D. Trotsky, in being supported by his toadies, played a fatal role in inhibiting and then destroying the execution of the task raised by the 10th RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Congress "of taking measures to restore and strengthen the Red Navy."<sup>4</sup> An interdepartmental commission on reorganizing the navy headed by the chief of the political directorate (PUR) of the RVSR, S.I. Gusev, and the work of which was controlled directly by the RVSR Chairman L.D. Trotsky, based its activities on a search for ways to reduce effectives and personnel, as well as for limiting the functions and rights of the naval command. A majority of the commission members and cooperating representatives from a number of departments, in referring to examples of carrying out the main tasks of armed combat in the Civil War on the land sectors, the difficult economic situation and the "political unreliability" of the sailors because of the Kronstadt events,<sup>5</sup> clearly underestimated the importance of the navy. With Trotsky's instigation or his support, silly irresponsible proposals were made for the complete abolishing of independent naval bodies and establishing a headquarters of coastal defense in the center and naval departments on the staffs of the maritime military districts. On 4 May 1921, by the Order of the RVSR No 965/166, coastal defenses were turned over to the Red Army and this meant breaking up the interrelated elements in the defense of the maritime perimeters, that is, the fleet and the coastal artillery, and this complicated the carrying out of the tasks of armed combat at sea. The transfer of the central facilities of the RKKF from Moscow to Petrograd at this time disrupted the close ties with the other state bodies and impeded the organization of command and control of the naval forces.

On 20 August, a session of the RVSR under the chairmanship of Trotsky approved the main proposals of the interdepartmental commission. The Navy was confronted with limited tasks of defending the coastal zone and coastline as well as ensuring the safety of navigation. There were significant reductions in crews and personnel, rear facilities, as well as limits on fuel, materiel and food rations. The command and control system underwent a complete reorganization. In the place of the abolished bodies for operational leadership and logistics, a single Republic Naval Staff was organized with strictly limited functions and complete subordination to the commander-in-chief of the Republic Armed Forces through his assistant for naval affairs (Pomglavkomor) and the position of commander of the Republic Naval Forces was abolished. All naval schools and courses were transferred to the Red Army Main Directorate of Military Schools. The adopted reduced shipbuilding program

provided for a period of 5 years for the outfitting and repair of a limited number of light ships and submarines as well as the converting of battleships into floating batteries.<sup>6</sup> Thus, Trotsky & Co. dealt a final demise to the semidestroyed Navy.

Much in the decree adopted in spite of the arguments by Navy specialists caused a negative response in the latter. The actual elimination of an independent command destroyed the entire supply system for the Navy and placed it in complete dependence upon the Army leadership with day-to-day subordination historically caused by the continental nature of the World War and Civil War being replaced by petty interference and a residual principle in supply and personnel matters.

Precisely this was brought up in the above-quoted "Note on the Navy" discovered in the holdings of the Central State Archives of the Soviet Army (TsGASA). Its author was E.S. Pantserzhanskiy, a highly-educated officer from the Russian Navy, an active participant in World War I on the Baltic Sea and who had unconditionally accepted the revolution and in all assigned posts showed his loyalty to Soviet power. Under his command the Onega Lake-River Flotilla made a significant contribution to the defense of Petrograd on the northern sector, and it successfully conducted a series of operations in close cooperation with the troops. In being appointed chief of the naval forces of the Black Sea (MSChM) in November 1920, in a short period of time he was able to establish a rather effective system for defending the coastal zone, using a few small ships, launch forces, a mine defense and coastal artillery.

In mid-November 1921, Pantserzhanskiy with a group of close assistants arrived in Moscow to resolve the questions which had arisen in the course of implementing the RVSR Decree. In the disputes with the supporters of establishing the floating batteries to the detriment of building a sufficient number of light ships and submarines, he warned that this path of supposed quick build-up in the fleet did not have a profound tactical and technical basis and with the shortage of facilities and the weakness of the production base would lead to the failure of the entire shipbuilding program.<sup>7</sup> The "Note on the Navy" was a result of serious thought on the complexity of the created situation and was based on profound theoretical concepts and rich military experience and reflected the opinion of many naval specialists and political workers. Trotsky's resolution on such a serious document without any notes or comments showed a reticence on the part of the military department's leader to delve deeply into the questions of the construction of the fleet and his lack of firm views on resolving them. His position impelled other members of the RVSR<sup>8</sup> to boycott the proposals voiced in the "Note" and some of these members continued to stubbornly defend a line of reducing the Navy and restricting its independence.

There is every reason to assume that V.I. Lenin was aware of the "Note." Certainly the content of this document comprised the basis of the report "On the

Naval Department" submitted to the RKP(b) Central Committee on 20 November by the just-appointed Commissar Under the Pomglavkomor V.I. Zof, the member of the MSChM RVS A.V. Baranov and the Chief Commander of Naval Ports of the Black and Azov Seas N.F. Izmaylov. On the following day, they spoke with Vladimir Ilich who showed a profound interest in naval questions. This meeting undoubtedly influenced the appointment of E.S. Pantserzhanskiy (Order of the RVSR No 317 of 22 November 1921) to the post of Pomglavkomor.<sup>9</sup> The Report "On the Naval Department" on 24 November was reviewed at a session of the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo which confirmed the continuity of the party's line of restoring the Navy and adopted concrete decisions to implement a whole series of the proposals set out in the "Note."<sup>10</sup>

But how did the supporters of the "Chief Military Specialist" Trotsky respond to the "Note on the Navy"? The following documents show this:

"To Comrade Trotsky.

"The first proposal comes down to separating the Morkom [Navy Commissariat] from the RVSR and removing it from subordination to the Glavkom [commander-in-chief]. In consider (this) incorrect. It is not a matter of the dependence of the Morkom upon the RVSR but rather the insignificance of resources which are provided to the Navy and primarily fuel. The second proposal has been carried out if the author does not have in mind the appointing of a new people's commissar. Comrade Pantserzhanskiy and Comrade Zof have been appointed to the Naval Center. They should win their authority by deeds. Of course, the RVSR will help them. Comrade Pimble has been instructed to move the center to Moscow. I agree fully with the first part of the third proposal. Comrade Pantserzhanskiy should reduce the naval rear services so that the Fleet can keep within the ration standards and immediately after this could receive new recruits. For the second part, Comrade Pantserzhanskiy must make concrete proposals.

"E. Sklyanskiy<sup>11</sup> 28 November 1921."<sup>12</sup>

"I disagree fundamentally with the current draft. I am in favor of establishing the Main directorate for coastal defense (GUBO.—Author). The large vessels should be eliminated while the destroyers and submarines with the assigning of strong seaplane forces to them should be developed continuously. The GUBO should be subordinate to the RVSR and to the command on the same bases as the Main Directorate of the Air Force. A prominent communist should be put at the head of the GUBO."

"S. Gusev<sup>13</sup>."<sup>14</sup>

The content of these documents eloquently shows by what "measures" Trotsky & Co., in ruining the Navy, endeavored to "strengthen" it: the first by revolutionary phrases and repressions and the remainder by cutting back on rations and eliminating the ships.

## Footnotes

\* The style of the document has been maintained.

1. TsGASA [Central State Archives of the Soviet Army], folio 33987, inv. 2, file 150, sheets 16-19. Original. Autograph.

2. Any question of the need for the superior state bodies to adopt specific decisions on the fate and development prospects of the Navy was examined at a meeting held on 1 January 1921 for the leadership and representatives of the party organizations in the RKKF. The adopted decree recognized "the necessity now of determining a policy on the naval question and actually beginning to recreate the Red Navy on the seas of the Republic."

An attempt to create such a law was the elaboration of the draft "Decree on Restoring the naval Force of the RSFSR" submitted by the Commander of the Republic Naval Forces A.V. Nemits on 15 February 1921 for review by the RVSR. The draft was a program for major rebuilding and repair, the outfitting of ships and new naval shipbuilding up to the year 1926 as well as an explanatory note justifying the directions for the resurrection and further build-up of the fleet. Battleships and cruisers were seen as the main force of the Navy but at the same time great attention was given to building light surface vessels, submarines and combat launches. As a result on the Baltic, Black Sea, Northern and Caspian Theaters there were to be 6 battleships, 9 floating batteries converted from the old battleships, 4 light cruisers and 3 training cruisers, 65 destroyers, 56 submarines, 16 gunboats, 32 patrol boats, 6 minelayers, 140 minesweepers, 20 armored landing vessels of the LPD-4 class, 90 torpedo boats, 45 patrol-attack launches, 8 armored launches, 30 armored patrol boats, up to 190 auxiliary vessels of varying class and the naval aviation would consist of 40 air detachments with 250 aircraft of different types. The strength of the naval forces in the Far East would depend upon the military-political situation in this region. It was pointed out that considering the historical experience, the greatest possible strengthening of the Navy was one of the most important areas for ensuring the defense capability of the Soviet state. Again the necessity was pointed to of defining the "naval policy of the Republic" and the prospect for naval construction. In the near future the RKKF was confronted with the task of defending the sea frontiers, supporting foreign economic ties and assisting the troops on the maritime sectors. The documents contained a military-political, economic and geographic description of the naval theaters and the specific tasks of the Navy in each of them, and the importance of the Northern and Far Eastern regions for the nation was pointed out (TsGASA, folio 33988, inv. 2, file 314, sheets 19-52).

As a whole, the draft was oriented at establishing a strong Navy which would harmoniously combine various combat arms, classes and types of ships. At the same time, the persons working out the document adhered to the conviction that the winning of superiority at sea was

an obligatory condition in carrying out strategic tasks and heavy gunships would be the main force of the Navy. Trotsky & Co. "mothballed" this plan. For the sake of objectivity, it must be recognized that it did not agree with the nation's real economic capabilities. All the same, this was not the main reason for its rejection. With all its shortcomings the draft could have been the basis for working out future plans for the build-up of the navy. But Trotsky's review of the document submitted to him, the draft of the "Decree on Restoring the RSFSR Naval Force," coincided in time with the Kronstadt events and the negative moral and political consequences of these served as grounds for the adopting of a different sort of measures. The arising mistrust of the Navy and the reticence of many leaders of the RVS (primarily L.D. Trotsky) and of a number of the other involved departments to see the future behind the current problems served as a reason for the rejection of the draft and the refusal to subsequently rework it considering the economic capabilities of the state.

3. Calculated from the book: "Korabli i vospomogatelnyye suda Sovetskogo Voenno-Morskogo Flota (1917-1927): Spravochnik" [Ships and Auxiliary Vessels of the Soviet Navy (1917-1927): A Reference], Moscow, Voenizdat, 1981.

4. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh syezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], Moscow, Politizdat, 9th Edition, Vol 2, 1983, p 378.

5. Screening (a political and professional check on all the RKKF personnel) was carried out on the basis of an order of the commissar under the Commander of the Republic Naval Forces I.D. Sladkov of 27 April 1921 and was completed by the end of June. It cannot be denied that this extreme measure made it possible to purge the Navy of elements which were out of place, professionally unprepared or directly hostile to Soviet power and qualitatively strengthen the personnel. In particular, by 1 August, communists in the Baltic comprised 12.3 percent, in the North 6.9 percent and on the Caspian 27.3 percent (TsGASA, folio 9, inv. 3, file 32, sheets 161-165; folio 10, inv. 3, file 246, sheet 9; file 250, sheets 13-14, and so forth). At the same time, the pathological suspicion and the zeal of Trotsky and his supporters for extreme measures deprived the Navy of many highly professional sailors who were honest, unselfish and dedicated to the Red Navy and the people.

6. TsGASA, folio 33987, inv. 2, file 140, sheets 37, 39-53; TsGA VMF SSSR [Central State Navy Archives], folio r-5, inv. 3, file 29, sheets 13-15.

7. TsGASA, folio 25899, inv. 3, file 2035, sheet 50, 52-53, 68-70, 97.

8. The "Note on the Navy" of 22 November 1921 was forwarded for study to the Deputy Chairman of the RVSR E.M. Sklyanskiy and to the RVSR members: the

Commander-in-Chief S.S. Kamanev, to the Chief of the PUR S.I. Gusev and to the Commissar of the RKKA Staff S.S. Danilov.

9. Subsequently, Eduard Samuilovich Pantserzhanskiy held the posts of chief of the USSR Naval Forces, the chief of the Black Sea Naval Forces and worked productively in the Central Naval Apparatus. He was a flagship officer first rank. In June 1937, he was arrested under a false accusation and executed in September at the age of 50. He was rehabilitated posthumously in July 1956.

10. TsGA VMF SSSR, folio r-1, inv. 4, file 38, sheets 5, 21; folio r-5, inv. 3, file 89, sheets 62-63.

11. Efraim Markovich Sklyanskiy was the deputy of L.D. Trotskiy.

12. TsGASA, folio 33987, inv. 2, file 150, sheet 14.

13. S.I. Gusev (Yakov Davidovich Drabkin) was the chief of the political directorate and RVSR member.

14. TsGASA, folio 33987, inv. 2, file 150, sheet 30.

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### History of Officer Assemblies

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[Article, published under the heading "You Ask—We Reply," by Col A.A. Chayka and Col (Ret) G.M. Strel'nikov: "The Officer Assembly"]

[Text] Maj Gen A. Vladimirov, Cols S. Posokhov and A. Sukhomlinov and Lt Col A. Chinayev have written with a persuasive request for the editors to describe the officer assembly, its past, its traditions and undertakings.

By the term "officer assembly" one understands a sort of club which brings together the officers of a certain military unit (garrison). In the Russian Army of the pre-Soviet period, such assemblies were widespread. Their activities were governed by the "imperial" approved (that is, approved by the Tsar) regulations and provisions. It existed in order during leisure hours to hold the officers under the unswerving control of the appropriate commanders (superiors), to influence them and educate them in a spirit of loyalty to the Tsarist Regime and defend the interests of monarchical Russia. The chairmen of the assemblies were the troop unit commanders (garrison chiefs). The officer assembly also assisted in drawing the officers closer together, in maintaining comradely relations between them, developing a general and military viewpoint, easing their material situation as well as providing amusement in free time.

Supervision over the observance of the established rules of conduct was one of the main tasks of the officer assembly, as among a portion of the officers there frequently were cased distinctions, the demands of the

military regulations were violated and certain ones behaved extremely arbitrarily in service and everyday life. However, an absolute majority of the officers assumed that an officer should refrain "from any diversions and from all actions which could cast even the slightest shadow on him personally and all the more on the officer corps. The word of an officer should always be the guarantee of the truth, and for this reason a lie, boasting and the nonexecution of an obligation were failings which undermined confidence in the truth of an officer, dishonored his title and could not be tolerated."<sup>1</sup> An officer did not have the right to participate in a dispute on the street, to appear in public in an inebriated state, to be untidy, not to be properly dressed, to spread slander, to spread gossip about anyone or behave disrespectfully of women. All of this would entail the harshest condemnation and a loss of respect among fellow officers. For this reason, in addition to the court of honor, in a regiment there existed one other terrible punishment for an officer guilty of such things and that was his comrades would cease to shake his hand. If things reached this point, then he would either be transferred to another regiment or in peacetime would retire.

In the regular Russian Army of the Suvorov times, good relations were widespread between the junior and senior. A Suvorov officer respected the individuality of a subordinate, he was not afraid of striking up a friendship with him, and saw in a young officer his comrade in calling and profession and addressing him with the familiar form had a cordial ring. Different relations between the senior and junior officers began to be introduced the moment that Emperor Paul I came to the throne. A superior who was even one rank senior looked at a junior officer as an inferior being. The death of Paul I marked an end to the official dominance of the "Gatchina system," but did not completely destroy it. Relapses into the "Gatchina system" broke out in the old Russian Army until the very last days of its existence. It must be firmly recognized that when we speak about the true traditions of the Russian officer class, we mean the remarkable heritage of the officers serving under Peter I, A.V. Suvorov, M.I. Kutuzov, A.P. Yemolov and A.A. Brusilov.

In the Russian officers over the centuries rules were worked out, even so-called "petty ones," and from the observance of these one could define a person as well brought up not only in military but also in the generally accepted terms.

Able superiors in each suitable instance endeavored to instruct their subordinates in a clear, vivid language essential both in service relations and in society. They gave great importance not only to a military education but also to a general one. An extensive knowledge of literature, history and foreign languages was considered compulsory. The ability to maintain a conversation in society on a serious subject marked any officer who was concerned for his reputation as a cultured person. Should a senior officer address a subordinate in insulting

terms, particularly in the presence of others (comrades, subordinates or in society), this was viewed as a lack of tack by the superior and as undermining an officer's authority.

An absolute majority of the senior officers, in being aware of the close linkage between the interests of military service and the high calling of an officer, developed in him a commander's self-esteem and encouraged him to value his dignity and honor. Such superiors did not force a subordinate to do anything which was not compatible with an officer's honor. An absolute majority of the officers learned in the conversational tone of a superior to separate service requirements from a private conversation, the sound of an order from a personal request and even during daily meals with a superior to pick up precisely when he was acting informally and when officially.

Among the officers, particularly in an officer assembly, there was a comradely mood regardless of military rank and service position. During off hours, at rest and in many instances even when on duty, the officers addressed each other, as a rule, on a first-name basis. This was particularly widespread in the Navy.

The life of Russian officers has been depicted rather broadly in domestic literature and in no classic work would one encounter the author's sympathetic attitude toward the distorted phenomena of the officer world and elevated by the "Gatchina supporters" into laws of conduct of an officer. On the contrary, the Russian classic authors who had a good knowledge of the officer world and themselves frequently wore a uniform, unswervingly confirmed the moral appearance of an officer of the Suvorov school. Many profoundly true thoughts about relations between officers and about the essence of official and everyday discipline can be found in the "Sevastopol Tales" of L.N. Tolstoy, in the "Captain's Daughter" of A.S. Pushkin, in "Bele" of M.Yu. Lermontov and other Russian writers.

The true traditions of the Russian officer class consisted in sacred loyalty to the fatherland, in the selfless execution of military duty, a knowledge of one's job, discipline, initiative and firmness, in fraternal affection for subordinates and concern for them, in a spirit of the closest comradeship between all of them comprising the officer corps. All these demands and rules of conduct in the officer milieu were constantly in the field of vision of the officer assemblies and in their majority they had a positive effect on the life and military service of the officers.

In their activities the officer assemblies gave great attention to educating officers in combat traditions as well as love for their unit and its colors. They highly respected the names of their regiments and endeavored to maintain their military reputation and add to combat glory. The name of the regiment by invisible ties linked the men into a single family. The name was shown on the colors and was a source of pride for the soldiers and

officers. The standard was considered a holy relic. The officers carried out numerous feats in defending the honor of the colors of their regiments and thereby set an example of valorous service for the inferior ranks. The colors of the unit were considered a true sacred relic for which each officer was ready to give up his life, in demanding the same thing of the soldiers.

The veterans were the living bearers of army traditions in the officer assembly. Raised to respect the bright memory of the heroes and the combat deeds of the unit, they not only preserved the traditions but also created them, in reliving their memories for the officers. As an example, one might give the remembrances of one of the veterans from the Life Guards of the Keksholm Regiment. At a regimental general officer assembly he related that in moving "in a march column through the streets of a small village...the battalion (command) spotted an old man who upon seeing our uniforms doffed his cap and straightened up.

"What are you doing, gramps?" asked the battalion commander. "Why are you at attention?"

"Well," replied the old man, "that was my own regiment. I wore that very same uniform, my lord, in my days."

"The battalion commander turned his horse and rode up to the regimental commander. The general ordered the unfurling of all 16 standards and in a parade march, accompanied by music and with our standards unfurled, we passed before the veteran....

"It would be difficult to describe the feelings which at that solemn moment swept over all of us. The eyes of the young and old soldiers glistened and our hearts beat a bit faster. In the regiment's log the precise place and time of the meeting up with the veteran was recorded. Thus, a new tradition was born in our regiment."<sup>2</sup>

What were the officer assemblies like and what was their organizational structure? First of all, we should point out that they were organized in each separate unit, in each garrison consisting of several units as well as in cities where the staffs of military districts were located. In their activities they were guided by the Regulations (or a draft of them) of the Army and Navy Officer Assembly and by the Regulation Governing Them. For example, the draft Bylaws of the Army and Navy Officer Assembly of 12 December 1897 was imperially approved by the emperor, by the commander-in-chief of the troops of the guard and the St. Petersburg Military District and signed by the assembly chairman Gen-Aide, Duke Yevgeniy Leykhtenbergskiy. It set out the aims of the assembly which were to: "a) Assist in bringing the officers closer together; b) assist in maintaining comradely relations between them in a spirit of the military demands and develop military and general education among them; c) reduce the cost of their living in the capital; d) provide comfortable, decent and inexpensive quarters for those temporarily coming to St. Petersburg."<sup>3</sup>

Paragraph 3 of the Draft Regulations pointed out that "under the assembly there are the following: a library, a common hall, lounges, messes, billiard rooms and rooms for travelers. In the assembly, with permission by the chairman, it is possible to organize: lectures, talks, military and other games, comradely meals, balls, concerts and so forth as well as shooting, hunting, musical, dramatic, chess and other circles and associations from members and visitors, with scientific or amusement purposes."

At the head of the assembly was a patron appointed by Imperial designation. His orders were carried out unswervingly. To him belonged the right of a final resolving of questions related to the concerns of the assembly not provided for by the Regulations. For direct leadership over the affairs of the assembly, the patron chose as his aide for three years the assembly chairman from the senior generals, the chairman in turn chose from among the generals and also for a term of three years the manager of the assembly, while the latter chose an assistant.

The assembly consisted of elders (honorary and active), members (honorary, life and temporary), life visitors, visitors and guests. The honorary members of the assembly included persons of the imperial family, general field marshals, the war minister and the manager of the naval ministry.

Then the Draft Regulations set out the following: to whom the title of honorary elder was to be given, who was appointed active elders, who could be active or temporary members of the assembly, visitors or guests, and the procedure for their receiving was set out. Upon attending the assembly, the active or temporary members as well as visitors paid a certain fee. Entrance was by name cards or recommendation blanks (for guests).

Due to the particular purpose of the officer assembly, all of its participants were obliged to appear in uniform. On the days of holding special comrade dinners or other celebrations as well as in renting the hall for private purposes, as an exception persons were admitted not wearing a uniform.

The Draft Regulations then set out in detail the questions of managing the assembly and this was to be carried out under the overall supervision of the sponsor by the council of honorary elders; the rights and duties of the assembly chairman and manager with his assistant were defined, as well as those of the administrative committee of the auditing commission.

Appended to the Draft Regulations of the Army and Navy Officer Assembly were the rules for internal procedures, the introduction of guests, the use of facilities for travelers, the billiard rooms and library; the procedure for the receiving of membership dues and instructions for the elder on duty.

For written documents they used a seal with the state crest and the inscription "Army and Navy Officer Assembly" and this was kept by the secretary.

In the St. Petersburg Officer Assembly for a term of a year, they elected (in November) an auditing commission consisting of two generals and admirals, six staff officers and one candidate staff officer.

The income of the assembly was made up of: "a) Membership dues, fees paid by visitors and guests; b) card games, billiards and so forth; c) fees for the use of the hall; d) from rooms for travelers; e) apartment rent of the economic society and f) random receipts."<sup>4</sup>

The collected money, if no provision was made for extreme need to spend it, was deposited at one of the banks of the St. Petersburg Mutual Credit Society (the assembly could be a member) in a current account. The amounts left for current expenditures and documents were kept in a strongbox, the key and seal to which were kept by the treasurer. Responsibility for the safekeeping of the money and the integrity of the property rested with the assembly manager and the executive committee. Persons hired as employees by the assembly were required to put up a guarantee at the discretion of the chairman.

Somewhat earlier than the draft Bylaws, they worked out a Draft Regulation Governing Officer Assemblies in Individual Troop Units as approved by the commander of the Guard and the St. Petersburg Military District. This Regulation was put into effect by Order No. 38 of 26 August 1881. This set out: the aim of establishing the officer assembly; the membership of the assembly; the rights and duties of its members; the list of persons permitted in the assembly; the questions of running the assembly; the duties of the executive committee; the procedure for holding general assemblies and the questions to be resolved; mention was also made of finances, property, the library, the mess and other assembly facilities; on the undertakings and amusements in the assembly. The draft Regulation provided that it could be supplemented in each troop unit by more detailed rules drawn up depending upon the assets, quarters and other conditions available to the officer assembly. The additional rules should not contradict the spirit of the Regulations and were approved by the chief of a division or by a person having equal rights with him. There was also the possibility of establishing an officer for several units. In this instance the Regulation Governing Assemblies was submitted up the line of command for final approval by the district commander. Later the Regulation Governing an Officer Assembly (supplemented and revised) was approved by the Order of the Defense Minister, Gen-Aide V. Sukhomlinov, No. 209 of 7 March 1914 and which included the assembly TOE (see the table). Its content basically covered the same demands as the draft Bylaws of an Officer Assembly of 12 December 1897. The Regulation merely concretized and broadened the goal and membership of the assembly, the rights and duties of the members, visitors and guests. A section was incorporated on the duty officer for the officer assembly and his obligations. The regulations governing officer assemblies analogous to the one examined above with insignificant amendments and supplements were to be found in all the separate troop units.

## Order No. 209

## Copy

On original written: "Imperially Approved" 7 March 1914

Signed: Gen-Aide Sukhomlinov

Verification: Chief of Executive Unit of Main Staff, Maj Gen Bonch-Osmolovskiy

## TOE of Army and Navy Officer Assembly

Name of Ranks	Number	Annual Salary			
		Salary	Mess Pay	Supplement	
Assembly sponsor	1	These posts			1) By branch of arms. Upon retirement has right to obtain pension from State Treasury and emission office of defense department on grounds set for servicemen in a line position. Pension is calculated from position of commander of nonseparate brigade.
Assistant sponsor	1	unpaid			
Assembly manager (major-general active service <sup>1</sup> )	1	By rank	2,700	2,400	
—Assembly assistant manager:					
1) For administrative affairs	1	1,200	—	—	
2) For management affairs	1	1,200	—	—	
3) Librarian	1	900	—	—	By hire.
(from retired or reserve generals, staff and higher officers)					
Bookkeeper	1	1,200	—	—	

For upkeep of assembly buildings and namely: hiring of servants for building, heating, illumination, water supply, repair of buildings and furniture, keeping building clean and remuneration to engineer for construction and technical work (600 rubles) each year from the treasury 48,000 rubles are allocated for the account of the defense minister.

## Notes:

1) Pay for persons indicated in TOE paid from assembly funds and apartments provided gratis in assembly building.

2) Legally establish compulsory withholdings from pay of servicemen are paid according to estimate for pay of assembly manager, from the total of this assembly.

3) Number of inferior employees and equally their salary are set by assembly manager.

4) Some 300 rubles a year from the assembly funds are provided to pay for a position called in to treat employees at the assembly as well as for supervising the sanitary state of the assembly.

Original signed by: V. Sukhomlinov, A.K. Vodar, Baron A.V. Kaulbars, P.A. Soltanov, N.D. Artamonov, F. Rostkovskiy, P.O. Shcherbov-Nefedovich, I. Povotskiy, A.P. Vernander, V. Yetskevich, K.N. Stavrovskiy, V. Glazov, Prince N. Tumanov, P.A. Frolov, N. Bulyavskiy, F. Gershelman, Baron N.P. von Asheberg, G. Rylke, D. Svishchevskiy, A. Sandetskiy, A. Gerngros, F. Martson, A. Brilevich, A. Mavrin, A. Vedenyapin, V.T. Chernyavskiy, P. Savvich and chief of chancellory of defense ministry, Lt Gen Danilov. For the Clerk, Lt Col Belopolskiy.

Verified Chief of Department, Col Barsov.

Authorized Capt. Polavskiy.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the officer assemblies, as one of the institutions of the old Russian Army, were abolished and began to be restored only during the period of perestroyka. The Temporary Regulation on the Officer Assembly of the USSR Armed Forces put into effect in 1989 is based on a fundamentally new socialist foundation and differs significantly in goals and tasks from the assemblies in the old Russian Army. While the officer assemblies in the Russian Army were an authentic tool in carrying out the tasks of service, in strengthening and developing positive traditions of the Russian officers and in this regard provided excellent results in the educating of the officers, it must be assumed that in the Soviet Armed Forces they serve the cause of defending the interests of the officer personnel, raising their authority and interest in accelerating the process of perestroyka in the Army and Navy as well as the democratizing of the troop collectives.

An officer assembly in the Soviet Armed Forces is a permanent social organization and is established in strict and precise accordance with the requirements of the USSR Constitution and current legislation involving social organizations. It is called upon to assist in every

possible way in developing the officers' feelings of honor and dignity, to unite the officer collectives, ensure reciprocal exactingness, respect in relations between officers in accord with the military traditions, standards and rules of the Soviet way of life, as well as increase their activeness in performing military duty. The Army and Navy officer assembly does not allow any exclusiveness but, on the contrary, provides broad opportunities for improving the forms of work with the officers, the members of their family and effective methods for involvement with the broad masses of servicemen. Its tasks and powers come down to developing in the officer personnel high ideological-political, professional and moral qualities, activeness and responsibility for performing official and public duties, for maintaining comradely relations based upon the unswerving observance of officer honor. The tasks of the assembly also include providing aid to the command and the party organizations in generalizing positive experience in the work of the officers to increase combat readiness, to strengthen military discipline, to successfully carry out the tasks of combat and political training, propagandizing the combat traditions of the Soviet Armed Forces and one's own troop unit, and so forth, the mobilizing of the officers and the members of the family for the exemplary maintenance of the military camps and residences of the officer personnel, instilling in them culture in organizing their everyday life, propagandizing a progressive way of life, organizing leisure and carrying out various mass cultural measures for the officers and the members of their family.

The officer assembly is also empowered to examine negative phenomena among the officers. For committed infractions there is provision to take public measures such as: comradely criticism and caution, public condemnation, the handing down of a decision to seek a public apology from the officer who has committed one or another infraction before the officer assembly and the person who was insulted, the expelling from membership in the officer assembly for a period set by the general assembly of the officer personnel but for not more than 6 months. One of the most important functions of the officer assembly is to establish legality and social justice in the military service of the officers as well as settling questions of improving the living conditions, routine and recreation of the officer personnel and the members of their families.

In the first 10 days of December 1989, an Army-Wide Officer Assembly was held.

One of the main goals of the assembly is to restore in the officer corps the traditions of officer valor, honor and dignity, that is, the very finest traditions mentioned above. These questions were raised in the main content

of the reports by the USSR Minister of Defense, Army Gen D.T. Yazov and the Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, Army Gen A.D. Lizichev. Participating in the work of the Army-Wide Officer Assembly were: the Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee L.N. Zaykov, the Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee O.D. Baklanov, famous veterans of the USSR Armed Forces, responsible workers from the CPSU Central Committee, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, the DOSAAF Central Committee, the CPSU Moscow Gorkom, representatives of the USSR KGB and MVD, the creative unions and the mass information media.

At the Assembly, it was pointed out that a goodly portion of the officer personnel, including leading officials, has still not adjusted to the general trend of perestroika, they have more to say about the new but continue to work in the old manner. Such people impede and hinder the initiative of subordinates and give rise to their official apathy. Many speakers, including the writer Karem Rash, spoke with great pain about the fierce attacks on the Army by a portion of the mass information media, emphasizing at the same time that we must not close our eyes to the truth and to the negative phenomena existing in the army milieu. The truth is the same for all and it must not be embellished by high-flown statements and assurances. In this context many requests and critical comments were voiced against the USSR people's deputies who are servicemen. They were ordered to take a more active stance in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Army-Wide Officer Assembly was a remarkable phenomenon in the sociopolitical life of the Army and Navy. Its main result was the fact that the Army and Navy officer corps demonstrated their solidarity, their loyalty to the course of the Communist Party of perestroika, and a readiness to make a practical contribution to carrying it out. In their appeal, the officers were in favor of establishing the finest traditions among themselves and for properly greeting the 28th CPSU Congress.

#### Footnotes

1. A. Krivitskiy, "Traditsiy russkogo ofitserstva" [Traditions of the Russian Officers], Moscow, Voennoye Izd-vo NKO, 1945, p 71.
2. Ibid., pp 69-70.
3. "Proyekt Ustava ofitserского sobraniya armii i flota" [Draft Bylaws of the Army and Navy Officer Assembly], St. Petersburg, 1897, p 1.
4. Ibid., pp 25-26.

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### Western Exercises Said to Demonstrate Continuing Threat

*Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 May 90  
First Edition p 3*

[Article: "Militaristic Rehearsals"]

[Text] The significant changes that are taking place today in the international situation, and the strengthening of the climate of trust on the planet, seemingly should also be reflected in the direct military planning of the U.S. and its allies. However, the facts indicate otherwise. Military rehearsals are taking place at this time in Canada, Thailand, the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea, indicating the following: The Pentagon is training the Armed Forces of the U.S. and its allies to wage large offensive operations on land and at sea. These exercises are coordinated with one another. They create a kind of strategic military background for the U.S. Global Shield strategic force maneuvers, in the course of which they are rehearsing a nuclear war plan.

#### Maple Flag-90.

The Canadian Cold Lake Air Base (Alberta Province) became the center for exercises Maple Flag-90. This is one of the large air force exercises of the NATO countries held on the North American continent. It was organized 12 years ago, and this year will be conducted for the twenty-third time during May and the first 10 days of June (three stages of two weeks each).

More than 60 tactical aviation aircraft and more than 1,000 military personnel were rebased to Canada from air bases in the U.S. and the other NATO countries to take part in the exercise. During Maple Flag-90, virtually all types of U.S. Air Force aircraft, including even B-52 and B-1B strategic bombers (operating from their permanent airfields), will be in the air space of the country of the maple leaf. In addition, approximately 10 British Air Force Jaguars have been transferred to Canada. CF-18 and CF-5 aircraft from the Canadian Air Force are involved.

In recent years flights in these exercises have been conducted five times a week; approximately 100 sorties are accomplished daily. During one day tactical fighter crews make two sorties, to work out various kinds of missions. The strategic bombers, in their non-nuclear variant, accomplish approximately 100 flights in a total of 30 flying days, according to the Maple Flag exercise plan.

During the course of the exercise, combat and auxiliary aviation, as before, will work out elements of air operations of one of the variants of combat operations in the European Theater of War. We note that the physical geographic and meteorological conditions of this area of Canada are very similar to those in Eastern Europe.

Strategic bombers, besides making strikes against enemy targets deep in the rear, also work out missions of overcoming the air defense system at low and minimum

altitudes, with the use of onboard means of conducting electronic warfare. Simultaneously, F-15 and CF-18 fighter-interceptors, coordinating with ground air target detection centers and E-3 AWACS airborne warning and control aircraft, rehearse aerial combat during cover of the strategic bombers and intercept of "enemy" aircraft. And F-15E, F-16, F-4 Jaguar tactical fighters, and A-7D and A-10 ground attack aircraft work out strikes according to data from RF-4C reconnaissance aircraft against small mobile targets, with the use of missile, bomb and gun armament.

According to the experience of past years, all elements of combat employment of strategic and tactical aviation are carried out at special ranges, in a situation as close as possible to that of combat. This is achieved with the aid of ground air defense simulators, as well as specially trained "Aggressor" air squadrons, which use the aerial combat tactics of Soviet MIG-29 and Su-27 aircraft.

During the maneuvers the technical services are called upon to improve their practical skills of preparing aviation equipment for flights, providing material and technical support for the flights, and eliminating the consequences of notional strikes made against the airfield. (Col V. Denisov).

#### Cobra Gold-90

Recently U.S. military activity has become markedly more active in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region. The number of maneuvers and exercises of various sizes with participation of ground, naval and air forces has grown, and their scale and duration have increased. One of the large measures of this kind are the annual U. S.-Thailand Cobra Gold maneuvers.

This year these maneuvers are being held from 23 April through 3 June. Their main goal, a Pentagon representative announced, is to work out the plan for joint combat operations of the armed forces of the U.S. and Thailand during a war in Southeast Asia. In all up to 15,000 American and Thai military personnel are participating in the Cobra Gold-90 maneuvers, which encompass the territory of Thailand and the adjacent waters of the Strait of Siam.

As a rule, the following development of events is anticipated by the maneuver scenario. As a result of a worsening situation on the Thai border with Cambodia, border incidents arise with the participation of military formations of the two sides, which grow into a local military conflict. The "orange" troops (armed forces of Cambodia and Laos) invade the territory of Thailand ("blue forces") simultaneously on several axes. The standard concept provides for support of the "aggressor" by a substantial contingent of Vietnamese armed forces.

In this situation, the United States comes to the aid of its Asian ally. American participation in the armed conflict plays the decisive role. With the arrival of American reinforcements, the "blues" make a powerful counter-strike against the enemy penetrating grouping, and oust

it from their territory. Air and amphibious assault forces, tactical and strategic aviation aircraft supporting the ground forces grouping, and U.S. Navy ships, are widely used in the maneuvers. Sabotage and reconnaissance groups of U.S. and Thai special forces operate actively.

One of the main missions that is worked out during Cobra Gold is the organization and conduct of transporting American troops from the continental U.S. and American forward bases to ATR in the area of the maneuvers. This question is of exceptional importance in future plans for the development of the U.S. Armed Forces. It is believed that the American ground forces should be a highly mobile component of the U.S. Armed Forces, prepared, with the support of the Air Force and Navy, for rapid transport to any theater of military operations. (Col N. Federov)

#### Ocean Venture-90

The U.S. Armed Forces maneuvers Ocean Venture-90 and DEFEX are continuing off the coasts of Cuba. According to a statement by representatives of the U.S. administration, the current maneuvers are "routine" in nature. However, the composition of the grouping created for the period of the maneuvers greatly resembles the assemblage of forces used in the aggressions against Grenada and Panama. This is exacerbating the already intense situation in the region, and is causing legitimate concern on the part of the Cuban government about the escalation of U.S. military might in the immediate proximity of its coasts.

It is sufficient in this regard to recall the history of the Ocean Venture exercises—the most dangerous from the standpoint of Cuban security. They were conducted for the first time in 1981. These were the largest exercises in the Western Atlantic and the Caribbean Basin since World War II. Approximately 130,000 military personnel took part. The official objective was to test readiness to assist the governments of friendly countries. In 1982, during the scheduled maneuvers, plans were

further developed for waging armed conflict in the region. And in 1983 the practical skills were already applied in Grenada.

The scheduled Exercise Ocean Venture-84 was devoted to eliminating shortcomings and errors revealed during the invasion of Grenada. From that time on maneuvers began to be held once every two years. During the maneuvers questions of carrying out air and amphibious assaults are worked out, large naval and air force groupings are created, and readiness for air and sea blockade operations of individual states is tested. Partial measures are carried out against the background of Exercise Ocean Venture, such as the current DEFEX exercise of the defense of the U.S. Guantanamo military base, with evacuation of civilian personnel worked out. According to assessments by Western military specialists, plans for possible armed invasion of Nicaragua, and the aggression into Panama carried out in December 1989, were tested during such operational measures.

The scenarios for Exercise Ocean Venture-90 anticipate the landing of assault forces in the area of Puerto Rico, combat firings by U.S. Navy warships, including the battleship Wisconsin, and the use of naval and air force aviation against ground and sea targets. Highly mobile and the most combat ready U.S. Army units and subunits from the 101st Air Assault and 82d Airborne divisions, which "distinguished themselves" in the Grenada and Panama interventions, a Ranger regiment, a Marine Corps battalion, aircraft from the U.S. Air Force tactical and military transport command, a grouping of naval forces with participation of the Kennedy general purpose aircraft carrier, and a detachment of aircraft carrying assault ships, operated in Ocean Venture-90. In all there were up to 20,000 military personnel, 200 fixed wing aircraft and helicopters, and 30 warships.

The thrust of the operational and combat training of U.S. Armed Forces in the Caribbean Basin indicates that certain American circles are continuing to follow a policy of force, and of demonstrating their military might in this region of the planet. (Capt 1st Rank M. Biryulev)

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